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## FORT NIAGARA IN THE WAR OF 1812 SIDE-LIGHTS FROM AN UNPUBLISHED ORDER-BOOK

THE United States embarked upon the war of 1812 in a state of singular military unpreparedness. Its regular army was very small—smaller even than the regular garrison of British North America—and the measures lately taken for enlarging it had as yet had little effect. The consequence was that in the early stages of the war the American government was forced to depend either upon half-trained militia regiments (a type of force to which the people of the republic long continued to be partial, despite the disapproval of professional soldiers and the evidence of experience), or upon regular regiments which were newly raised and had not yet had time to acquire discipline and cohesion. The association of militia and regulars was more likely to undermine the discipline of the regulars than to improve the spirit of the militia. The problem of maintaining the morale of such forces was a serious embarrassment to the American command, as both American and Canadian historians of the war have made abundantly clear.

We may usually obtain from a concrete instance a more vivid impression than from a general statement, and it may therefore not be without interest to observe the decline of morale at Fort Niagara which was a focal point of unrest and which illustrated the conditions to be found in the northern army at other points along the frontier.<sup>1</sup> The fort, on the southern bank of the Niagara river and with command of its outlet into Lake Ontario, was a post of great military importance. Its effective garrison numbered about 420 officers and men; it mounted seven pieces of artillery,<sup>2</sup> had a further number in reserve, and was within range of Fort George and the town of Newark on the Canadian side of the river. In the course of the war the garrison varied as successive attempts upon the Canadian frontier brought forces for a while within its

<sup>1</sup>"Causes of the failure of the northern army" (*American state papers, Military affairs*, Washington, 1832, I, 439 ff.).

<sup>2</sup>"Garrison orders & proceedings of Fort Niagara, Nov. 20, 1812."

gates. The artillery was usually from the regular army; the infantry both regular and militia.

In the library of Queen's University, Kingston, is a manuscript book of good laid paper, cased in cardboard, and (through age) somewhat in disrepair. The book is a small folio, measuring thirteen by eight inches, and on the inside of the cover is written "Garrison Orders & Proceedings of Fort Niagara". The first order is dated November 15, 1812; the last December 16, 1813. From these pages we obtain an interesting and a vivid light on the general conditions in an American army that beat itself against the Canadian frontiers during the war of 1812. Details are often petty; but these records of courts-martial, these preparations for attack and defence, in the handwritings of men for whom they were of the first importance, throw a clear light upon the very human material that for most people is now congealed under the label "History".

The orders throughout are written in ink in various hands of a very "soldierly" character. After May 12, 1813, there is a gap until June 19, when we have a "return of British prisoners of war at Fort Niagara", and a further list of prisoners taken at the capture of Fort George. Then the volume passes to a new owner, Sergeant Rigden, of the 2nd New York Artillery, who reverses the book and begins again at the other end. There are signs that pages have been lost, or more probably cut out; and the first order that remains is dated October 10, 1813. Many of the pages that follow are signed by Gustavus Loomis, acting adjutant. The spelling of the sergeants and others who copied these orders was individual. In the quotations which follow, it has been accurately transcribed and without alteration.

By the first entry in the book it becomes apparent that Lieutenant-Colonel George McFeely had just "been assigned to the command of this important post by General Smyth", who had himself only recently succeeded General Van Rensselaer in command of the northern army. We learn also that there were in the fort two companies of artillery commanded respectively by Captains Leonard and McKeon; and three companies of infantry under Captains McFarland, Milliken, and Mills. The first and second were from the 21st regiment of infantry and Captain Mills's company was from the 23rd regiment, both of the New York militia. The whole of the artillery was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gray, also "of the New York Militia". The first orders of the officer commanding are issued with a view to securing discipline. They deal with the need for putting the post in a thorough



state of defence. They warn the garrison to be on the alert, and are definite as to the presence of cartridges and the absence of whiskey.<sup>3</sup> On November 17, Colonel McFeely mentions "The critical situation that we are placed in at present". This critical situation was the forthcoming attempt by the forces under General Smyth again to invade Canada; but of this the order-book makes no mention. It is noticeable that we are given directly very little information of military importance. On several occasions during the war Fort Niagara was in the very heart of the fighting. On November 21, 1812, it engaged in a vigorous duel for about ten hours, firing red-hot shot at Fort George and Newark and sustaining the British reply. Of all this we are told nothing.

Again, on May 27, 1813, the Americans, commanded by Generals Dearborn and Morgan Lewis, crossed the river in force under cover of the guns of Fort Niagara and actually captured Fort George and the town. Of this our order-book tells us very little. We learn beforehand that discipline was tightened, and after the action we read the names of the prisoners taken in Fort George. Beyond these matters we are told nothing of a most spectacular victory. Yet "garrison orders" can be brief, definite, and (to the initiated) exciting and revealing. Colonel McFeely was determined, without flamboyance, to bring his command to a sense of their situation *sub specie aeternitatis*. Therefore, "the soldiers are not to take off their clothes when they lie down; they are to sleep on their arms that in case of an alarm they can turn out in a moment". Sentries had evidently taken shelter inordinately; so, on November 20 we read "Warning. The sentry boxes are to be taken down this evening." Other orders are concerned with the disposition of the "picquets", the care of arms, the duties of officers commanding companies, and arrangements in case of an alarm. "Any officer or soldier found out of his place three minutes after the drum beats the alarm will be tried by a court martial."

All these orders are both soldierly and necessary; but before long the difficulties of dealing with militia become apparent. On December 10 "Captains of infantry will cause their Companies to drill two hours every day either in squads or in companies . . . If the day be wet or cold the drill can be performed in the block houses or in some of the barracks." This possibly hints at the

<sup>3</sup>(a) "Captains of the different companies will have their men's cartridge boxes filled with ball cartridges this evening; they will see that their men are provided with good flints and cause their men to keep their guns in the best of order" ("Garrison orders", Nov. 19, 1812).

(b) "If in future any soldier, or any other person, is caught bringing Whiskey into this garrison they will be punished according to the sentence of the Garrison Court-Martial" (*ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1812).

dissatisfaction with military conditions and discipline that was to break out later in almost a mutiny. Sentences imposed by courts-martial were at first confirmed and ordered to be executed; but by the beginning of 1813 the more rigorous were often remitted, and before long the higher command seemed unwilling to inflict punishment for any offence, save those minor infractions that might be met by a number of "cobs" on the prisoner's posterior.

It is of a large and very quarrelsome family that this order-book tells. The number of courts-martial of which we have brief or extended notice between December, 1812, and the end of April, 1813, is twenty-three. Evidently there were a number of people in Fort Niagara who resented military discipline. Again and again we find that trouble occurs over the ration of whiskey. This was served to the garrison daily and apparently supplied in bottle. One bottle being very much like another bottle it was customary (with guards and pickets on the gates especially) for half-empty bottles to be miraculously refilled before the turn of duty was over. The N.C.O. in charge of the guard was accordingly "crimed". When he was sober and law-abiding it is obvious that his guard had simply been too clever for him. Sergeant Hollister, for instance, was once on the charge-sheet for an offence of this nature; and as Kipling puts it "he took his oath—which was Bible truth—that he hadn't seen nothing wrong" with the guard until one after another began to show signs of drunkenness. Many of the N.C.O.'s, however, were themselves insubordinate. With Sergeant Flannigan (or Flanekin), Sergeant Rogers, and Corporal Henry procedure was complicated. So we have riotous and almost comic scenes when sober corporals are sent out to bring drunken sergeants to the guard room and are promptly put under arrest by their superior officer for using the amount of force necessary to effect their purpose. Corporal Henry was charged, on December 27, 1812, with drunken and riotous conduct. Lieutenant Ripley, who prosecuted, swore that he had threatened the corporal several times but without effect; "still he was noisy and fighting; he [Ripley] at length ordered him to the guard house. On seeing the file of men after him he refused to go and knocked down a soldier that stood near him. After due deliberation the Court find the prisoner, Corporal Henry, guilty of the charges alledged against him and sentence that he shall be reduced to the rank of a private." This sentence was approved by the officer commanding the fort; yet at the end of January, 1813, we find Henry still a corporal.

The case of Sergeant Flanekin was more spectacular. As far back as December 6 of the previous year there had been evidence

of enmity between Flanekin and Corporal Heafer. On that date Private George Ewig was tried for striking and abusing his superior officer [Heafer] and was "Sentenced to wear a ball and chain for ten days and that he have the shoulder knot, he made to insult the N.C.O. with, sewed to the back of his coat for the same time". What was this shoulder knot we do not know; but it appears later that Sergeant Flanekin resented Heafer's action and was guilty of "unofficerlike conduct" in uttering abusive language concerning it. This is the first specification of the charge; the rest I quote verbatim:

Specification 2nd.—unofficerlike conduct in abusing Corporal Heafer for confining J. Mounce, on the morning of the 11th Instant and without any pretence kicked Corporal Heafer out of his quarters for the same.

Specification 3rd.—unofficer, and unsoldierlike conduct in threatening to whip Corporal Heafer and otherwise abusing him on or about the 25th of March when he [Corporal Heafer] was ordered to head the patroll sent for Sergt. Flanekin.

Specification 4th.—In being drunk on or about the 25. March.

Specification 5.—In leaving the guard-house when in confinement and going to Corpl. Heafer's quarters and daring him to fight, calling him a coward on or about the 25th. of March, 1813.

Charge 2nd.—Absent without leave.

Specification 1st.—In being absent from 4 o'clock P.M. until 8 o'clock on or about the 25th. of March.

The prisoner after being arraigned, pleads not guilty to the first specification in the first charge, pleads guilty to the 2nd, 3rd, 4th & 5th specification in the first charge.—the prisoner also pleads Guilty to the Second Charge and Specification.

Sergt. Stewart after being duly Sworn, Says he knows nothing of the first Specification in the first charge.

[Corporal Moore, & Privates McCollough, Robb, J. Jones & Given are similarly ignorant.]

J. Johnson after being duly sworn, Says he heard Sergt. Flanekin Say, that he had lived along so far, and never had occasion to confine any yet, and that he, Corporal Heafer, had confined George Ewig.

J. Jackson after being sworn, says he knows nothing of the first Specification in the first charge.

The court after mature deliberation find Sergt. Flanekin not guilty of the first Specification in the first charge. The court find Sergt. Flanekin guilty of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th Specifications of the first charge, and likewise find him Guilty of the Second charge and Specification, therefore sentence him to be reduced to the ranks and to do the duty of a private centinel.

After the sentence of the court appears this exordium:

With regret the Court think proper to mention that the want of respect from the soldiers to non-commissioned officers is a Serious evil. Destruction of all Military Subordination Calculated to make an army but another term for a mob.

Respect and obedience must be observed, from the Corporal to the General agreeable to rank, or all Order ceases.

It is the Military Polar Star, the paladium of their Salvation.

The non commissioned officer who conives at irregularities in the Soldiary or enters into Cabals from whim or caprice is unworthy the Station he holds, more particularly when in opposition to another officer; in this case his wickedness or his weakness deserve the most Exemplary punishment.

The commanding officer approves of the proceedings of the court-martial and orders that the same be immediately put into execution.

Insubordination was evidently a general fault, and the discipline of the garrison, even on parade, must have been of the most sketchy description. On February 1, 1813, John Anderson was arraigned for "Swairing and using vulgar language" to Sergeant Lank—whom he also pushed, and therefore lost for a week his ration of whiskey—no other punishment. Tadock McIntyre on the same day was less fortunate. Having disregarded the order to parade, which order was given by Sergeant Flanekin (not yet come to disaster) he was sentenced "to receive six cobs on the naked posterior".

A few days later (February 8) Joseph Jackson was charged with using vulgar language to Lieutenant J. J. Wise. Jackson certainly appears to have been more democratic than was necessary in explaining what he would do to the British if he found them running away, and to lose his ration of whiskey for a month was not too severe; but in addition he was made a policeman for two weeks, and policemen were not popular with the troops.

Several cases prove that the courts held the balance of justice fairly evenly and did not, as they might in the British army, uphold the N.C.O. whatever he did. They also attempted "to make the punishment fit the crime" when possible. We have seen what happened to Private Ewig in the matter of a shoulder knot; and, later, Corporal John Brown, found guilty of "selling his shirt to a militiaman" was ordered to "pay one dollar and be marched in front of the parade without a shirt on three successive mornings". This in December. On January 24 was tried Jacob Sowders:

[Charge:] Striking Corporal Heafer and collaring him. To which charge the prisoner pleads Guilty.

William Bowen being Sworn, doth say, the prisoner supposing that Corpl. Heafer meant to injure or assault his mother, jumped up & pushed back Corpl. Heafer, but did not strike or collar him, further Witness sayth not.

Corpl. Henry being duly sworn, says, Heafer was not drunk, that Heafer called Mrs. Sowders an old Heifer, that she took up a stick when Heafer kicked the stick, when J. Sowders collared Heafer

and run him against the wall, when Corpl. Henry took him away further saith not.

Levy Penington being duly sworn, Saith, that Corpl. Heafer who was not drunk came into the room, when Mrs. Sowders told him they wanted no drunkards there. Some words passed between them, when Mrs. Sowders took up a pan handle to strike Heafer, he said he would not strike a woman. She then took up a stick appearingly to strike him. Heafer appeared to defend himself when Jacob Sowders flew at him, and collared him. Corpl. Henry relieved him, when Mrs. Sowders called a file of men to take Heafer under guard.

Stephen Carmichael, being duly sworn, saith, that Heafer was not drunk, that when Corporal Heafer come into the room Mrs. Sowders ordered him out, that he would not go until he drew his meat. She then slapped him in the mouth, appearingly in anger. Heafer called her an old Heifer, and if not a woman he would kick her. She then attempted to strike him with a pan handle. She then attempted with a stick; he tryed to defend himself, when J. Sowders jumped at him and choaked him; Corpl. Henry relieved him.

The court after weighing the testimony consider the conduct of Jacob Sowders to be highly reprehensible in assaulting a non-commissioned officer and do sentence him to two weeks hard labor in the Garrison and to be confined in the Guard house at Night.

We may consider that this comparatively light sentence indicates a measure of disapproval of Corporal Heafer's conduct. By March 16 it is evident that a portion of the garrison was mutinous. "William O'Bryan of Captain Leonard's company, in the 1st. Regt. U.S. Artillery" was charged with disrespect to a non-commissioned officer, and riotous conduct. The specification to the first charge, "Accusing Corpl. McManus of stealing and otherwise abusing him on the 15th. March", gains some diversion from its missing comma. The second specification, "Insulting, and attempting to strike and abuse Sergt. Wheadon when in the line of his duty as Sergeant of the Guard", is more serious. But it is important to note that no attempt is made to press this second charge, no evidence is offered, and the sentence of one week's hard labour and no whiskey for a month must be considered light.

Immediately after O'Bryan's case was determined comes William Morse of Captain Mills's company, charged with disorderly conduct in attempting to strike the sergeant-major, D. L. Spriggs. Sergeant Vancuran gave his evidence. Questioned by the court as to whether he saw the commencement of the quarrel, he answered:

I saw in the passage of the mess-house Mrs. Spriggs following the prisoner and abusing him. She finally spit in his face; the prisoner did not (as I saw) make any resistance, but retorted her

abuse, I then carried him into his quarters, the Sergt. Major Spriggs came in and ordered his wife away and after some words, which I do not recollect, struck him [the prisoner] in anger, told the Sergt. Major that such usage was not to be bore and that if he was a poor soldier with but one hand he could not bear such conduct, and drew back his arms as if to strike him, the Sergt. Major then ordered him to the guard-house.

The prisoner asserted that he had offered to apologize if he had been wrong, but Sergeant Vancuran had not heard it. However, the court, after mature deliberation, found the prisoner not guilty of the preferred charge against him and wished it to be noted that the conduct of the sergeant-major was oppressive, tyrannical, and unmilitary. There is the spirit of the revolution in Private Morse; and the court by its action shows itself aware of the fact.

Three days later we have further evidence to press home the point. Privates John Brown, McWade, McWilliams, and John Todd, all of Captain Leonard's company in the 1st Regt. U.S. Artillery, were charged with riotous and unsoldierlike conduct in that on the evening of March 19 they threatened to release a prisoner exposed by Lieutenant Randolph for drunkenness and actually seized their arms for that purpose. To which charge the prisoners severally pleaded "Not guilty".

Corpl. Holmes being duly sworn, is ignorant of the affair and consequently unable to bear testimony.

Vincent Jones of Capt'n. Leonard's company being sworn deposith, that a short time before parade he was engaged in wiping out his gun he heard some of the above mentioned prisoners (the name he does not know) exclaim who will go and release Farrand,<sup>4</sup> who will turn out. Jno. Brown exclaimed I will. Another one of the prisoners, made use of the same threat but which one it was the witness cannot tell, three of them had their arms in their hands, but the witness is ignorant whether they had taken them for that purpose.

Question by the prisoners.—whether the greater part of the men had their armes in their hands for parade at that time.

Richard Guild being sworn, deposith, that, Shortly before parade when Farrand was to be exposed as a public spectacle for his misconduct—John Brown one of the prisoners seised his gun and exclaim that if all would turn out and join him he would go and release the prisoner—Todd (another) seised his gun and standing by the side of Brown, declaired that he would join him, McWilliams did not get his gun, or make any movement whatever towards the execution of his threat, but declaired that he would join if the rest would, McWade come in shortly after and being told the cause of the disturbance, swore by God, that he would join to release Farrand

<sup>4</sup>The order-book tells us nothing of Private Farrand's case, but he is probably the Private Michael Farrand who fell into British hands when Fort Niagara was taken.

at the risk of his life, got down his gun and paraded alongside Brown and Todd.—Question.—was that before parade.—Answer.—it was.

Question by the prisoner.—whether the Greater part of the men in our room had gotten their arms for parade?

Answer, there was not (as I saw) one man in the room but three of the prisoners that had their guns.

Sergt. D. Rogers being sworn, deposeth, that John Brown who had his arms in his hands, exclaimed, Let us go and take Michael Farrand down they can but shoot us. McWade then said by God I'll go. He had no arms at that time, but afterwards looked about for them. Todd then said by God I will assist, with some other expressions that I do not recollect he also got his arms. McWilliams did not rise from his seat or get his arms, but exclaimed that he would assist.

Question by the court.—had the men orders at that time not to parade with arms.

Answer.—I believe not, in truth, I am confident of it.

Question.—How long before parade was this.

Answer.—I do not exactly know but I think not more than 5 minutes.

Question by the prisoner.—had not the men their arms in their hands for parade at the time this affair took place.

Answer.—I think some more than the prisoners but cant say how many.

The court for want of evidence on the part of the prisoners adjourns.

March 20.

Miller's testimony is expunged on account of his having been intoxicated at the time the riot took place.

Corpl. Brown being sworn deposeth that about twenty minutes before evening parade a dozen men had their arms ready for duty.—Thomas Morse being sworn.

Question by the prisoner.—at the time this affair took place ware we the only men who had arms in their hands.

Answer.—There ware four or five besides the prisoners had their arms in their hands for parade before I heard any part of the conversation, respecting Farrand.

Question.—do you remember whether Miller (a witness) was drunk at the time this affair took place. . . . Answer.—he was.

The court after Mature deliberation find the prisoners *Guilty* of having made use of riotus threats, but not *Guilty* of having gotten their arms for the purpose of executing those threats.

The court is of opinion that the prisoners Brown, McWade, McWilliams & Todd, receive 25 cobs apiece, that they be confined to hard labor for the space of one month, and have their rations of whiskey stopped for the same space of time. they be confined in the guard-house at night for that length of time.

From certain circumstances that appeared on the trial, the court is induced to recommend an amelioration of McWilliams' punishment.

The commanding officer approves of the proceedings of the court



and directs that Brown, Todd and McWade receive their punishment this evening at roll call.—but from the recommendation of the court McWilliams is pardoned so far as respects cobbing.

N.B. Brown, Todd and McWade has been Guilty of Mutiny, and had the charge been brought in, in its true light, before a General Court-martial, they would have been shot according to the rules and articles of war.

The punishment of Cobbing J. Brown, McWade and Todd is suspended during their good behaviour.

Such a punishment, so imposed and so watered, is hardly more than farcical. Certainly much evidence has been suppressed and it is probable that both the commanding officer and General McClure, to whom the case was reported, knew that where militia, enlisted only for a limited time, were concerned the reins of military discipline could not be very tightly drawn. There is periodical evidence of anxious attempts to enforce a better discipline ("the Military Polar Star, the paladium of their Salvation"); attempts abandoned almost as soon as made. Lenity or severity; on April 20, 1813, we have an example of the one, and on the 24th of the same month an entirely different tone:

Amos Waterman, a private of Capt. McKeons company, 3rd Artillery. Charged with repeated desertion.

The court after Mature deliberation on the testimony adduced find the prisoner Amos Waterman Guilty of the charge exhibited against him, and Sentence him to be *Shot to death*.

The Commander in Chief of the army on the Niagara frontier having examined the proceedings of the Genl. court-martial held on the 12th day of December last in the case of Amos Waterman approves the Sentence, but in consideration of the long confinement of the prisoner, and in the hope that he will duly appreciate the motives which enduce to mercy and by his future good conduct atone for past offences, Orders that the execution of Said Sentence be remitted and that the prisoner be released from confinement and return for duty to his corps.

In the case of Henry Greenwood deceased by the court which convened on the 11th day of January and of which Lieut. Col. Boestler, was President. The Sentence is also approved, but similar considerations operating in this case, as in the preceeding one, the commander in chief remits execution, and directs that the prisoner be discharged from confinement and return for duty to his corps.

The Commander in Chief hopes that those several acts of clemency will not be misconstrued by the army he has the honor to command.

Desertion in the midst of war he considers the foulest offence a soldier can commit, and one which generally deserves & demands the most exemplary punishments, he therefore hopes it will be distinctly understood that in future every sentence of a General

court martial on offences of this description, if approved, will be strictly executed—unless strong palliative circumstances should occur to warrant a remission.

April 24th, 1813.

There appears to be such neglect of duty and disobedience of orders as cannot be overlooked any longer. Ignorance cannot be any plea, you have the Garrison orders to go by, and the articles of war for your guide, both of which I recommend to your attention, of the latter particularly the 18th, the 44th, and 53rd articles.

As 1813 drew to a close, Canada still unconquered, Fort George a salient menaced by Indians, and the British preparing for counter-attack, an apprehensive tone comes into the garrison orders. The artillery is to practise for two hours each day; the firing of guns or of pistols within 200 yards of the fort is forbidden; and the guard on being relieved each morning is directed to draw its musketry charges under the close inspection of the officer commanding and to turn over to the magazine the balls and powder thus saved.

Volunteers were ordered to be sent to Fort George, "which is in a poor state of defence"; and in November General M'Clure resolved to evacuate that fort and to concentrate all stores and munitions of war in Fort Niagara. On December 10 the majority of the garrison became time-expired men. They had been living in tents and their pay was in arrears; the paymaster (Major Lee of the 16th Regiment of Infantry) only furnished them with one month's pay instead of three, with the result that "the best and most subordinate militia that have yet been on this frontier . . . became a disaffected and ungovernable multitude".<sup>5</sup> In spite of appeals and the offer of a bounty "a very inconsiderable number were willing to engage for a further term of service on any conditions".<sup>6</sup> And so Sergeant Flanekin, ex-corporal Henry, N.C.O.'s and privates virtuous or vicious march off the stage and Captain Leonard is left to meet the expected counter-attack.<sup>7</sup> He had with him more than 400 men, with nine lieutenants, two ensigns, and a surgeon. He made what seems to be an excellent disposition of his force, gave orders that in the event of retreat from the walls the mess house should be used for a last stand, and on December 16, 1813, issued the following order, the last in the book:

<sup>5</sup>Brigadier-General George McClure to John Armstrong, secretary of state for war, Dec. 10, 1813 (*American state papers, Military affairs*, I, 486).

<sup>6</sup>McClure to Armstrong, Dec. 12, 1813 (*ibid.*).

<sup>7</sup>McClure to Armstrong, Dec. 13, 1813: "The enemy is much exasperated [by the burning of Newark] and will make a descent on this frontier, if possible" (*ibid.*).

In future the troops (Garrison) will parade at one oclock of each morning on their company parade and immediately repair to their Several alarm posts and there wait for further orders.

The commandant expects the most prompt attention to this order from all the officers and men capable of walking.

Obviously, the British force that (three nights later) crossed the river and fell upon the fort should have been received by a garrison alert and armed. It was not so. Leonard may have trusted to Captain Hampton, his second in command, to Lieutenant Trimble, or Lieutenant Peck; he left the fort about 11 p.m. on December 18 and repaired to his home about two miles distant. The garrison incontinently slept; and the invading British found an easy prey. The luckless Leonard, hearing the firing, made towards the fort, and at no great distance from it was made prisoner.<sup>8</sup> Hampton had been silently "mopped up" in a house where he was playing cards, and it was left for Peck (who was wounded) and Lieutenant Trimble to conduct such resistance as was made. More than 340 prisoners were taken, together with much booty of stores, arms, and papers; but that is part of the official story which may be found elsewhere and which this article has made no attempt to tell. The collection of Lundy's Lane Historical Society papers, edited by Brigadier-General Cruikshank, has an excellent account of the manner in which the fort was captured. Side-lights may be found in other volumes.<sup>9</sup>

The subsequent history of our order-book is of little interest. It fell to one of the storming party who, dying at an early age, left it to a Kingston girl whom he was to have married, and by her family it was given to Queen's University where it has been in the library since 1869. Though the original must remain on Canadian soil, yet a verbatim transcript is soon to be sent to old Fort Niagara as a mark of the friendship that for more than one hundred years has been maintained along the international boundary.

E. C. KYTE

<sup>8</sup>*American state papers, Military affairs*, 488; E. A. Cruikshank (ed.), *The documentary history of the campaigns upon the Niagara frontier, 1812-1814* (Lundy's Lane Historical Society publications, 1902-7), IX, Dec., 1813, to May, 1814.

<sup>9</sup>See for example: Louis L. Babcock, *The war of 1812 on the Niagara frontier* (Buffalo Historical Society publications, 1927); Peter A. Porter, *A brief history of old Fort Niagara* (Niagara Falls, 1896); Julius Wm. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1812* (New York, 1925); William Wood, *Select British documents of the Canadian war of 1812* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1923), II; William Wood, *The war with the United States: A chronicle of 1812* (Toronto, 1915).

## HEMP AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE

IN pioneering days, when money was scarce and manufacturing in its infancy, the economic history of Canada might be summed up in terms of the various attempts made to provide those staples that were in demand in England, either for the purposes of commerce or for the more pressing purpose of imperial defence. Of those staples fish, fur, lumber, and later wheat, have become established commodities in the economic life of Canada, but all attempts to make hemp a staple failed, in spite of the prominent place it occupies in the official correspondence of the day, the stimulus of bounties, the prevailing belief that the soil and climate of the eastern colonies were favourable to its successful cultivation, and the fact that hemp was an indigenous plant in North America, and had been used to a considerable extent for domestic purposes in Quebec and New England.<sup>1</sup> This article attempts to trace the nature of the problem, to outline some of the attempts made, and to explain the chief causes of the failure to make hemp commercially successful.

The colonial rivalry of the nations of western Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made the control of the sea a matter of vital necessity, and gave to naval stores a significance scarcely comprehensible to a person familiar only with modern means of transportation. Indeed, it is not too much to say that one of the motives of early colonization was to secure control of the sources of those stores, of which hemp was regarded as the most vital to the defence of the empire.

England and France, in different eras, sought to stimulate interest in the cultivation of hemp in Canada. On various occasions instructions were sent as to the cultivation of the soil and the preparation of the raw material for market.<sup>2</sup> The poor response to these appeals during the French régime was explained as due to the indifference of the habitants and to the inadequate cultivation and fertilizing of the soil, to the precarious character of subsistence farming, and to the shortage of skilled labour for

<sup>1</sup>G. L. Beer, *The origins of the British colonial system, 1578-1660* (New York, 1922), 285. As early as 1640 the people of Massachusetts began to sow hemp and flax for domestic purposes (F. Parkman, *A half-century of conflict*, Boston, 1892, I, 115—the Acadians had "more hemp than they can use", 1707).

<sup>2</sup>H. A. Innis, *Select documents in Canadian economic history, 1497-1783* (Toronto, 1929), 371: Instructions to Quebec settlers (from Public Archives of Canada, *Series C II A*, vol. L, pp. 95-7, June 12, 1728).

the preparation of the hemp for market.<sup>3</sup> But whatever the real cause or causes, the fact remains that the hemp, though of suitable length, was of poor quality, dirty and coarse, hard and broken, and therefore useless for any purpose except the poorest quality ropes.<sup>4</sup> And where France failed, England, for reasons somewhat similar, did not succeed.

Early in the eighteenth century the attention of the English government was directed to the American colonies as most suitable for hemp culture, and extensive preparations were made to encourage a scheme so laudable. Settlers in Nova Scotia were offered the option of paying their quit rent of two shillings per hundred acres in hemp.<sup>5</sup> In 1721 parliament freed colonial hemp from English import duties and offered large bounties to encourage its production. Commissioners were sent to instruct the colonists how "to prepare pitch, tar, turpentine, and to grow hemp".<sup>6</sup> At the same time an offer was made to form a company in Nova Scotia for the purpose of settling "burdensome pensioners" who could be employed in the cultivation of hemp.<sup>7</sup> In spite of so much encouragement, "the entire quantity of hemp imported into England from the American colonies", in the period 1712-28, was only 316 cwts. 2 qrs.<sup>8</sup> The colonists refused to sacrifice their lucrative commerce in fish, lumber, and ship timber with the West Indies, Spain, and Portugal for a problematical venture in the interests of the mother country.<sup>9</sup>

During the seven years' war the empire was dependent upon Russia for cordage, and, from 1759-62, 1,303,531 cwts. of Russian hemp were imported into England at a cost of £22 per ton, while only 36 cwts. came from the colonies.<sup>10</sup> The Russian government, speculating upon this monopoly, raised the price of hemp by forty per cent. between 1756 and 1789 with serious consequence to British commerce and shipping. To defeat this monopoly, an attempt was made to revive an interest in the cultivation of flax and hemp in the older colonies, and in order to overcome the difference between the Russian and colonial hemp, parliament

<sup>3</sup>Innis, *Select documents*, 369-70.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 371-2.

<sup>5</sup>*Public Archives of Canada report*, 1894, 36, referring to *B.T.N.S.*, vol. 32, p. 404. Lords of trade to the governors, June 4, 1719, calls for 14 pounds of water-rotted hemp for every 100 acres.

<sup>6</sup>G. L. Beer, *Commercial policy of England* (New York, 1893), 95-6: Notes for hemp culture in the old colonies, 1721.

<sup>7</sup>B. W. Bond, *The quit rent system in the American colonies* (New Haven, 1919), 368.

<sup>8</sup>G. L. Beer, *British colonial policy, 1754-1765* (New York, 1922), 216.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 215-6; C. M. Andrews, *The old colonial period* (New York, 1912), 195.

<sup>10</sup>Beer, *British colonial policy*, 216, n. 1-2.

offered a bounty of £8 per ton to the latter for the first seven years, £6 for a subsequent seven years, and £4 for a further period of seven years.<sup>11</sup> At the same time Governor Murray in Quebec was instructed to report on lands suitable for the production of hemp and to make its culture a condition of a grant of land.<sup>12</sup> Carleton in Nova Scotia, and later Cramahé in Quebec, recommended to Hillsborough the extension of the bounty system to their respective provinces.<sup>13</sup> Again, the results were disappointing. Up to 1769 only 407 cwts. were imported from Canada and 400 tons from the older colonies, while the annual consumption was about 20,000 tons.<sup>14</sup> The meagre response was traced to the high cost of labour, and to the latitude in which the attempts were made. Apart from that, to make hemp culture obligatory upon struggling settlers in a new country, where food was scarce and difficult to procure, was a confession of colossal official ignorance of actual pioneering conditions. Ultimately, the culture of any article depends on the interest of the farmer in the results, and in the returns for his labour. The pioneers could not afford costly and risky experiments.

The "armed neutrality" and temporary loss of the control of the seas during the American revolution, and the consequent disruption of the empire, once again forced the question of an independent source of supply of hemp upon public attention. Various suggestions were made. Canadian merchants argued that the extension of the bounty of £8 per ton,<sup>15</sup> formerly given to the older colonies, would not only stimulate interest in hemp and promote a better market for British manufactured goods, but that its preparation for market would employ the women and children during the winter months.<sup>16</sup> In this way local attention would be diverted from the routine business of satisfying domestic needs. In 1787 the Quebec executive recommended that the cultivation of hemp be made obligatory on every settler.<sup>17</sup> In 1790, at Dorchester's request, 2,000 bushels of the best Russian hemp-seed were sent to Quebec to be distributed gratis by the agricultural societies of the various districts.<sup>18</sup> An expert from Russia was

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 217.

<sup>12</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Series Q*, vol. 62, p. 53, Dec. 7, 1763.

<sup>13</sup>*Q*, vol. 5, pp. 760-3, Aug. 31, 1768; vol. 68, pp. 225 ff., Oct. 30, 1772.

<sup>14</sup>Beer, *British colonial policy*, 218.

<sup>15</sup>*Q*, vol. 26, p. 40, Feb. 8, 1786.

<sup>16</sup>*Q*, vol. 43, pp. 814 ff.; vol. 45, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup>*Q*, vol. 27, pp. 522 ff.; John Collins, dt. sur. general, Jan. 1, 1787.

<sup>18</sup>*Q*, vol. 40, p. 1, Dorchester to Nepean, Nov. 10, 1788; vol. 53, p. 67, Minutes of executive council, June 9 to July 23, 1791, and Minutes of privy council for trade to Grenville, June 7 to Sept. 27, 1790; vol. 45, p. 7, Lower Canada council recommendation, Feb. 22, 1790.

secured to teach the Canadians how to prepare the raw material for market.<sup>19</sup> Thirty-two pounds per ton was offered for hemp equal in quality to the best Russian, and a proportional price for grades of inferior quality.<sup>20</sup> The response was disappointing. Only fifteen persons volunteered, sowing twenty-nine bushels among them. Several explanations were given: the price was insufficient to compensate for the risks and heavy labour; Roman Catholic priests discouraged hemp cultivation, because it was exempt from tithes, as formerly they discouraged the cultivation of tobacco; the wheat merchants and seignors, who owned or operated mills, feared that the substitution of hemp would impair, if not destroy, their industry; the indifference of the settlers and the scanty population were all enumerated as the chief obstacles to success. The government was blamed for not offering sufficient encouragement to carry the scheme to a successful conclusion, and for vesting its control in the hands of self-regarding agents.<sup>21</sup>

Anxiety deepened during the French revolution and Napoleonic wars. Russia and Britain were quarrelling over the disposal of Malta and the future of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Britain was paying Russia about £2,000,000 per annum for hemp, and the price had jumped from £32 per ton in 1790 to £61 per ton in 1800. What more natural than that the raising of hemp should be encouraged in all colonies adapted to its cultivation? Lord Portland circularized the various lieutenant-governors in 1800, urging them to stimulate production by bounties and by grants of land of so many acres for every ton of hemp produced. At the same time the navy boards were instructed to purchase the hemp at the highest average price of the year.<sup>22</sup> The anxiety of the government is evident in the lavish promises made and in the hopes held out to the settlers. Both the marketability and manifold uses of hemp were emphasized: it was manufactured into cordage, sail-cloth, ropes, lines, sheetings, table-linen; every part of it could be used in thread or tow, and commanded a high price; it was a staple article of wealth and commerce, and could be made of incalculable benefit to the Canadian colonies, daily augmenting

<sup>19</sup>Q, vol. 45, p. 574, Committee of the privy council on trade, Sept. 8, 1790; vol. 50, p. 7, Grenville to Dorchester, stating that an expert was proceeding to Canada, March 7, 1791; vol. 58, p. 9, Dundas to Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, Jan. 5, 1792.

<sup>20</sup>Q, vol. 45, pp. 568-70: Grenville to Dorchester, Oct. 5, 1790.

<sup>21</sup>Q, vol. 52, pp. 333 ff.: Clarke to Dundas, Dec. 12, 1791.

<sup>22</sup>Q, vol. 290, pp. 294-7, to the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada; Public Archives of Canada, *Lower Canada state book*, vol. C, pp. 147-54; Q, vol. 293, p. 168, May 27, 1802; Public Archives of Canada, *New Brunswick despatches received*, III (1800-7), pp. 51-5, to Carleton, Dec. 18, 1800.



as their population increased. Further, the production of hemp on a large scale was expected to make agriculture more attractive, diversify industry, increase employment, and increase enormously the amount of money in circulation, which in turn would raise the standard of living and stimulate settlement.<sup>23</sup> Information to this end was issued in English and French, giving a clear account of the culture and preparation of the hemp for market.<sup>24</sup> Prizes and premiums were offered by the London board of agriculture, and models of suitable machinery were sent out by the imperial government.<sup>25</sup>

The colonial executives expressed cordial approval, and appointed committees of instruction to assist the farmers.<sup>26</sup> As a stimulus to sluggish souls, grants of land were to be given to those who would raise large quantities of hemp.<sup>27</sup> Governor Hunter, in Upper Canada, recommended a grant of a thousand acres, free of all expenses, to the person who should in any one year raise the largest amount of hemp in his district, six hundred to the next, and four hundred to the next. Similar amounts were offered to those persons who would be the first to erect suitable hemp mills in their own districts.<sup>28</sup> In Lower Canada grants of one hundred acres "in some of the townships already in part granted (as being the most eligible lands)", free seed, and bounties were offered for every ton of marketable hemp raised and dressed by any person within five years, in addition to the price usually paid per ton.<sup>29</sup> At the same time the council of Lower Canada drew attention to the public aversion to doubtful experiments, and urged upon the imperial government the necessity of investing some money in the venture as evidence of goodwill and determination.

<sup>23</sup>*Q*, vol. 88, pp. 163 ff.: Notice to farmers, May 10, 1802.

<sup>24</sup>*Q*, vol. 90, pp. 334-45, June 17, 1802, quoting an article in the *Commercial and agricultural magazine*, VI, no. 35, later printed in French for circulation in Quebec; see also *Q*, vol. 99, pp. 249 ff., Office of committee of privy council for trade, Stephen Cottrell to Ed. Cooke, Sept. 2, 1805; *Q*, vol. 100, p. 10, Dunn to Castlereagh, Feb. 19, 1806.

<sup>25</sup>*Q*, vol. 96, p. 105, Board of agriculture, London, lists of premiums, June 30, 1804; vol. 101, pp. 369 ff., Lords of treasury send out samples of hand shackles, April 10, 1806.

<sup>26</sup>*Q*, vol. 90, pp. 323 ff., Banks to Glenbervie, July 30, 1802; vol. 99, pp. 249 ff.

<sup>27</sup>*Q*, vol. 290, pp. 66-71; *Lower Canada state book*, vol. C, pp. 121-31; Public Archives of Canada, *Upper Canada land petitions*, pp. 1-42 ff.

<sup>28</sup>*Q*, vol. 97, p. 6, Milnes to Camden, Jan. 2, 1803; vol. 100, pp. 241 ff., Dunn to Windham, Aug. 12, 1806; Public Archives of Canada, *Lower Canada sundries*, Oct. 17, 1806.

<sup>29</sup>*Q*, vol. 88, pp. 181-4, May 8, 1802, a permanent committee appointed in Lower Canada; *ibid.*, pp. 163-70, May 10, 1802; vol. 290, pp. 78-80, Upper Canada legislature voted £250 for seed and £250 for bounties, July 6, 1801; Public Archives of Canada, *Colonial correspondence, Prince Edward Island*, vol. 15, pp. 15, 29, 1802.

The response to this fresh appeal came chiefly from persons who were tempted by the offer of a grant of land in return for every acre of hemp cultivated.<sup>30</sup> Among those was I. W. Clarke, assistant-deputy commissary general, and a magistrate of Montreal, who, in 1801, experimented in the culture of hemp on various plots in the vicinity of Montreal, involving an expenditure of £560 12s. 2d., and resulting in the production of 4,411 pounds of seed and 804 pounds of tow.<sup>31</sup> The hemp was twice the length of the Russian sample sent out in 1790.<sup>32</sup> In view of his prompt response to the appeal of government, and his industry in pursuing the business, and other considerations, he was considered entitled to particular consideration. The executive council, therefore, approved a grant of a quarter of a new township to him.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, Philemon Wright of Hull, Quebec, engaged to raise hemp for ten years to the extent of at least ten tons per annum, upon condition of receiving two hundred acres of waste land for every ton of merchantable hemp he produced, up to 20,000 acres, but without any other encouragement from the government.<sup>34</sup> In 1805, petitioning for the lands in fulfilment of contract, he claimed that he had delivered 3,533 pounds at Montreal, and that, as a result of his example and encouragement, 11,484 pounds had been raised in the township of Hull. As compensation for his exertions and expenses, he was granted 1,200 acres of land on the understanding that this did not create a precedent for the future. After a few years of experimentation, he discontinued the growth of hemp for commercial purposes, because of the huge expense in preparing it for market,<sup>35</sup> but continued to produce it for domestic purposes.<sup>36</sup>

Both Selkirk and Talbot, seeking government support for their schemes of large-scale colonization in Upper Canada, offered to cultivate hemp for export, as recommended by Simcoe many years before.<sup>37</sup> Neither lived up to his promise. Selkirk argued

<sup>30</sup>*Lower Canada sundries*, Pennoyer to Dunn, Oct. 17, 1806; many were eager to avail themselves of the offer of 100 acres in return for hemp, e.g., Philip Robin of New Jersey offered to invest £10,000 in the culture of hemp on good securities, which evidently were not given. See *Q*, vol. 85, p. 371, Aug. 6, 1800.

<sup>31</sup>*Q*, vol. 90, pp. 303-13: Clarke to Ryland, July 31, 1802.

<sup>32</sup>*Q*, vol. 87, p. 424: Milnes to Hobart, Nov. 6, 1801.

<sup>33</sup>*Q*, vol. 92, p. 306, Minutes of council, April 6, 1803; vol. 90, pp. 300 ff., Milnes to Hobart, June 13, 1803, concerning Clarke's claims and award.

<sup>34</sup>*Lower Canada state book*, vol. D, pp. 75-8, March 7, 1802; *Q*, vol. 93, p. 175, Fawkenner to Sullivan, office of comptroller of privy council for trade, June 23, 1802, approving those terms; *Lower Canada state book*, vol. E, pp. 20 ff., Nov. 27, 1805.

<sup>35</sup>*Tenth report of the committee of the house of assembly, Lower Canada, 1824*, 53: Wright's evidence.

<sup>36</sup>*Lower Canada sundries*, Bouchette's report, 1824.

<sup>37</sup>*Q*, vol. 294, p. 37, Talbot's views, Feb. 15, 1803, also *C*, vol. 620, p. 128; for Selkirk's views, see Public Archives of Canada, *Selkirk papers*, vol. 52, pp. 91 ff., March 27, 1806.

cogently that in a new country, questions of transportation and density of population were vital issues in its development; that in older colonies, and in those within a moderate distance from the sea, the same amount of labour could be employed to better advantage in clearing land for purposes of ordinary cultivation than for raising hemp. The maritime districts showed but a passing interest in the various appeals of government to stimulate the production of hemp. But Upper Canada, remote from sea-ports, sparsely settled and backward, could not make wheat-farming commercially profitable because the cost of marketing swallowed up the greater part of the price and left little profit to the farmers. Hemp, on the other hand, being a more valuable article in proportion to its weight, could bear an expense of transportation which grains could not, and still leave a wide margin of profit to the grower. Selkirk, therefore, seemed on safe ground in maintaining that only in the remote sections of Upper Canada could farmers be expected to give the culture of hemp their general attention.

Out of these ideas and experiments there emerged in 1805 a government hemp policy.<sup>38</sup> Since 1800, a committee had been investigating what steps, if any, should be taken to encourage the growth of hemp in Canada, or in the East Indies. After examining persons familiar with the soil and the inhabitants, the committee recommended that the culture of hemp be conducted on an extensive scale; that the plans of Captain James Campbell and Charles Grece, experts in the production of hemp, be approved. If they would each cultivate twenty-five acres of land with hemp in their respective districts of Three Rivers and Montreal for the first year, undertake to pursue its cultivation on a scale satisfactory to the local executive, instruct the peasantry in the growth, dressing, and manufacture of the article, and act as inspectors of the finished product, assurance would be given them that all marketable hemp produced by them would be purchased by the government at the price of £43 per ton, for the first five years, delivered at Quebec, Montreal, or Niagara. During that period each was to be allowed an annual allowance of £200, and an immediate loan of £400 to be refunded in case of breach of contract, free transportation to Canada, an allowance for hemp dressers, free seed for the first year, and 150 acres (out of 300) of cleared land for experimental purposes. As an added induce-

<sup>38</sup>*Q*, vol. 99, pp. 229-38: Proceedings of the lords of the committee of the privy council for trade, July 11, 1805.

ment they were informed that should their zeal and activity prove satisfactory they would be given a life annuity of at least £200. On July 11, 1805, both men accepted these conditions.<sup>39</sup>

Grece left Liverpool in October, 1805, accompanied by certain workmen familiar with hemp culture in England. In view of the nature of his contract, he felt unwilling to erect a mill upon rented property. He therefore purchased 150 acres in a populous district, in the parish of Longue Pointe, on the banks of the St. Lawrence river, and on the high road to Montreal and Quebec, and was thus in a position to promote the cultivation of hemp and to ship it easily.<sup>40</sup> By 1807, he had fulfilled his agreement with government, so far as local circumstances permitted him to do so. He had erected a building suitable for the manufacture and storage of hemp; planted twenty-five acres in 1806 and twenty-eight in 1807, but "from bad seed chiefly and partly from unfavourable weather and late sowing, the seed sown produced no crop".<sup>41</sup>

Campbell was more leisurely in his movements than Grece, and met with greater difficulties. A year after the agreement was signed, he left the Clyde with seventeen mechanics and agriculturists, with whom he had signed a five-year contract. In lieu of the 150 acres of cleared land promised him, the council authorized him to secure by lease or purchase, an improved farm, towards which government would pay all reasonable and necessary repairs, besides providing him with 300 pounds of free seed.<sup>42</sup> Only in March, 1807, was he able to secure sixty acres of suitable land in the seignory of Beçancour, near Three Rivers, on which he began operations.<sup>43</sup> By October the necessary buildings had been completed, thirty-six acres prepared for crop, together with forty acres more by local farmers,<sup>44</sup> but being unable to harvest his crop before the winter set in, a heavy fall of snow destroyed the crop on thirty-one acres and the spring floods the balance.

The same record of failure marked his subsequent efforts.

<sup>39</sup>*Lower Canada sundries*, Castlereagh to Milnes, Sept. 12, 1805; *Q*, vol. 100, pp. 241-4, Dunn to Windham, July 22, 1806; vol. 106, pp. 397-404, Grece to Rose, May 16, 1807.

<sup>40</sup>*Lower Canada sundries*, Grece to I. W. Clarke, Oct. 29, 1806; *ibid.*, Nov. 17, and Dec. 2, 1806.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, Report of the hemp committee of Montreal, Sept. 27, 1806; *Lower Canada state book*, vol. E, pp. 315-22, Executive council on Grece's case, Aug. 13, 1807.

<sup>42</sup>*Lower Canada state book*, vol. E, pp. 156-8.

<sup>43</sup>Order-in-council, Jan. 7, 1807, instructing him to purchase sixty acres; *Lower Canada sundries*, April 22, 1813, Campbell to the Duke of Richmond; *ibid.*, Campbell to A. W. Cochrane, Aug. 15, 1817.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*: Campbell to Dunn, Oct. 3, 1807.

In justification he pleaded unfavourable circumstances; his farm had been exhausted by constant croppings without sufficient fertilizing; the buildings were dilapidated; the seed was poor and the seasons wet; the settlers refused to venture until assured of a sufficient price for a definite number of years.<sup>45</sup> The government refused to accept his explanation; claimed that all the engagements entered into by his majesty's ministers had been fulfilled; that in view of the £1,500 advanced to him, or laid out on his behalf, success should have followed, and that Campbell had defaulted in his promises. Perhaps the real cause of failure was that he was too optimistic, and, being ignorant of actual conditions in Canada, he made promises to the imperial government which he was unable to fulfil. Governor Craig's dictum that Campbell had "too great a turn for speculation to be very earnest in any one object", comes near the truth.<sup>46</sup> The executive council, however, admitted that he had laboured under "peculiar disadvantages", and recommended that his financial obligations to government be cancelled, and that he be permitted to retain his two farms until the crown had time to examine his case.<sup>47</sup>

Failure, however, could not be admitted in view of Napoleon's spectacular career in Europe between 1800 and 1815. During that period thrones toppled, ancient boundaries disappeared, the Holy Roman Empire ceased to exist, Germany was being whipped into shape, and Britain and Napoleon were locked in a life-and-death struggle for world supremacy. Lieutenant-governors were recommended to give every encouragement to the development of hemp in the American colonies, and assured that any measures they adopted would meet with the sanction and approbation of the imperial government, even to the offer of a price of £70 per ton as an added inducement, besides a grant of three hundred acres to any one person who would produce five tons of hemp in one year.<sup>48</sup> This appeal was to be read from the pulpits after divine service. Governor Craig was, however, not very confident of success. Only a few farmers responded to the appeal, producing a few hundredweights of hemp, until the war of 1812 put an end to the hemp business in Upper and Lower Canada, and the peace of 1815 relieved the anxiety of British statesmen.

<sup>45</sup>*Q*, vol. 117, pp. 102 ff.: Prevost to Liverpool, March 17, 1812.

<sup>46</sup>*Q*, vol. 107, pp. 157 ff., Craig to Castlereagh, May 6, 1808; *Lower Canada state book*, vol. F, pp. 338-40, Executive council on Campbell's affairs, Jan. 29, 1811.

<sup>47</sup>*Lower Canada state book*, vol. H, pp. 4-11, Report of council, Aug. 3, 1814; *Q*, vol. 156, p. 227, and vol. 167, p. 332, Compensation to Mrs. Campbell.

<sup>48</sup>*Q*, vol. 99, p. 227, Cottrell to the lieutenant-governors, July 25, 1805; vol. 305, p. 15, Colonial office, June 5, 1806; vol. 108, p. 211, Cottrell to Craig, July 23, 1808.

Napoleon became the prisoner of St. Helena, the affairs of Europe were at the tender mercies of the Holy Alliance, and the "culture of hemp was no longer contemplated" by the imperial government.<sup>49</sup>

This indifference did not, however, continue. The revival of liberal ideas in Europe converted the Holy Alliance into an instrument of oppression, and government by congresses did not retain the approval of the British government. The revolt of Spanish America and Russia's claims to Alaska and other Pacific territories, estranged Britain and Russia, and had an influence on the enunciation of the Monroe doctrine. An immediate and pressing interest in the cultivation of hemp was revived. Conditions in Canada were now regarded as more opportune than in 1800. The success of New York state, with its higher scale of wages, was quoted to stimulate sluggish minds into fruitful activity and fertile acres into productivity. With good management, proper machinery, and good prices, an abundant crop was confidently expected.<sup>50</sup> Lord Dalhousie, governor-general, lent his cordial support to the scheme. The navy board again called for tenders for the growth and delivery of from one to ten tons of Canadian hemp. But in view of the failure of the experiment recently conducted in Bengal by English experts, sent there by the government to attempt the improvement of Indian hemp,<sup>51</sup> it was made clear that no further encouragement would be given by the government until unquestionable proof had been produced that the quality of the Canadian hemp was fully equal to the Baltic product.<sup>52</sup> This the Canadian growers were unable to produce. Conditions differed from Russia where the peasants were *glebi adscripti*, cultivating small patches of hemp to enable them to pay their annual rents to their landlords. Apart from that, hemp was of the utmost importance to the Russian government: it was the chief source of its trade and the only one enabling the inhabitants to obtain foreign goods, and since the peasants had to sell it at any price, Russian hemp could always undersell the colonial product.<sup>53</sup>

The response to this further appeal must have been disappoint-

<sup>49</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Upper Canada land book*, vol. J, pp. 259 ff., Executive council to Talbot, Nov. 8, 1817.

<sup>50</sup>*Tenth report of the committee of the house of assembly, Lower Canada*, 1824, 42; *Q*, vol. 186, pp. 71 ff., Jos. Burlingham to Colonel Davies, M.P., Feb. 13, 1828; vol. 352, pp. 113-21, Colborne to Murray, Sept. 12, 1829; vol. 353, pp. 141-6, Colonel Covert, May 11, 1829.

<sup>51</sup>*Q*, vol. 90, pp. 323 ff., Banks to Glenbervie, July 30, 1802; vol. 353, pp. 15-6, R. G. Middleton, navy yard, to J. W. Croker, Dec. 18, 1829.

<sup>52</sup>*Q*, vol. 372, pp. 163-4, Murray to Colborne, Dec. 25, 1829; *Montreal Gazette*, May 6, 1830, notice from H.M. dockyard, Kingston, U.C.; *Q*, vol. 353, p. 15.

<sup>53</sup>*Q*, vol. 90, pp. 323 ff.

ing to the imperial government. Colonel Covert of Cobourg, built a hemp mill and was appointed government agent for Upper Canada. The legislature granted him the bonus of £300, offered in 1822 to the first person to build a hemp mill in the province, to enable him to secure the necessary machinery, distribute seed, and advise the farmers.<sup>54</sup> In December, 1830, the mill was in working order, and samples of hemp had been manufactured which the navy yard certified as of good quality. A fleeting interest in hemp culture was created in the district. Covert later confessed that the culture of hemp was accompanied by unforeseen difficulties and expenses, and that one man, however zealous, could hardly make hemp a marketable article on a scale sufficiently important to win the active support of government. Bouchette's suggestion that a company might succeed where private initiative failed, was not encouraged.<sup>55</sup>

It remains to explain these repeated failures. On the face of things it would seem as if some secret influence had been at work to prevent the success of the culture of hemp in Canada, without ascribing the failure to the obstinate prejudices of the settlers. The first essential element to successful cultivation was good seed, and one of the greatest obstacles was the difficulty of securing a sufficient supply. It had been customary for several years to send kiln-dried seed for distribution among the settlers, not a grain of which germinated.<sup>56</sup> This was not a matter of secret intelligence, rather was it a topic of public conversation at Quebec. If it were known in England, no preventive action was taken, and for twenty years public money was wasted on agricultural efforts that were doomed to failure before they were even attempted, while the quantity of seed from the United States, secured from scattered areas at high prices, was always inadequate.

There was also the difficulty of clearing heavily timbered land for hemp and preparing the ground for the seed; the limited sums which provincial governments could afford to contribute towards the cultivation of hemp were utterly inadequate to enable poor

<sup>54</sup>Q, vol. 352, pp. 113-21; vol. 353, p. 150, Covert to Hay, offering his services, May 12, 1829; *Upper Canada sundries*, Sept. 1, 1829, £300 granted to Covert.

<sup>55</sup>J. Bouchette, *British dominions* (2 vols., London, 1831), I, 470-6.

<sup>56</sup>Q, vol. 99, p. 238, July 18, 1805, "the 700 lbs of seed sent by the P.C. utterly insufficient"; vol. 102, pp. 44-7, Dunn to Windham, Feb. 17, 1806; *Lower Canada sundries*, Clarke to Campbell, Dec. 11, 1806; Q, vol. 107, pp. 159 ff., April 25, 1808, "The hemp seed imported from England last year . . . is not to be depended upon"; *Lower Canada sundries*, June, 1809, Lieutenant Gray, "It appears that the cultivation of hemp has been much retarded hitherto for want of proper seed"; *ibid.*, Quebec, March 28, 1814, L. Foy, "I do hereby certify that the hemp seed which I first received from H.M.'s Stores in this garrison was considered unfit for sowing".



settlers to overcome the difficulties of preparing the soil or marketing the finished product, while the premiums offered appealed only to large proprietors of land and had little influence upon the mass of small farmers who cultivated their own land, and depended upon the produce for subsistence. But what weighed most with the small farmers was the fact that from 1793 to 1816, the price of wheat in Canada was so high as to leave no inducement to try any other article of culture, particularly one which was not an article of food and for which there was no certain and ready demand.<sup>57</sup> Not only so but the American embargo increased the demand for lumber from Lower Canada and the Maritime Provinces, and this, with extensive ship-building and manufacture of potash, called for twice the man-power of the colonies to perform the required labour. These flourishing and lucrative industries paid high and even extravagant wages, increased the cost of the culture of hemp and the price to government, and deprived the farmers of necessary labour.<sup>58</sup> Among other serious obstructions there was always the insuperable obstacle of the bad state of the roads, and the distances to the central depots, where alone purchases could be made.<sup>59</sup> There was also an entire lack of machinery to lighten the heavy labour of preparing the hemp for market, for no one would erect machinery till profit was assured.<sup>60</sup> The difficulties in the way might have been partly overcome had government offered to purchase the hemp in its crude, instead of in its finished, state. Many claim that a larger effort would have been made had a ready and assured market been available, at a price sufficiently attractive to the farmer, and continued till the experimental stage was passed. These definite assurances were not given, or were given only in part, and then nearly always too late. The Canadian farmers should have been growers only, for hemp demanded great judgment in preparing it for market, and farmers lacking proper machinery could not handle large quantities of it. The crop should have been accepted in its crude state in any marketable quantity, at a liberal price for a definite number of years, and the best farmers should have been encouraged to experiment on several kinds of soil with certified seed. Experi-

<sup>57</sup>*Tenth report of the committee of the house of assembly, Lower Canada*, 42.

<sup>58</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *New Brunswick colonial office*, 188 (194), vol. I, p. 143, Carleton to Portland, June 22, 1801; *Q*, vol. 106, pp. 397 ff., Grece to Rose, May 10, 1807; vol. 107, p. 373, Craig to Castlereagh, Nov. 24, 1808; vol. 117, pp. 102 ff., Prevost to Liverpool, May 17, 1812.

<sup>59</sup>*Lower Canada state book*, vol. E, pp. 362-6, Minutes of the executive council, Nov. 24, 1807.

<sup>60</sup>*Lower Canada sundries*, I. W. Clarke to Ryland, Feb. 1, 1808.

mentation is a slow process, demanding patience, scientific accuracy, and perseverance, which a few struggling pioneers could scarcely be expected to give to a dubious project. Hence Canadian farmers grew those articles for which there was a ready market, and refused to embark upon an undertaking which they did not fully understand. The imperial government, in fact, never seriously faced the initial difficulties of establishing a new industry in a new country, and evidently thought of conditions in Canada in terms of agricultural developments in England, where the stimuli of premiums and gold medals resulted in experiments profitable to the nation. A century ago the cultivation of hemp could be successfully begun, nourished, and extended only by the crown. Trifling bounties and gold medals benefited only a few and had no appeal to the average cultivator of the soil, who preferred the lessons of practical experience to doctrinaire theories.<sup>61</sup> Local assemblies, generally provincial in outlook, and spasmodic in their plans, took up new schemes out of respect to the wishes of the British government, and seldom seriously enough to ensure success. It was a mortifying reflection that such a promising beginning should fail because the necessary and expected government support was withheld.

It is apparent that the failure to make hemp a staple in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries of Canadian history was not due to any one particular cause, but rather to a combination of causes, that were cumulative in their effects. The interest of the imperial government in Russian hemp was very natural: the quality was good; the supply, under normal conditions, was adequate, and the price usually satisfactory; British manufacturers benefited considerably from this trade. Colonial hemp, on the other hand, was poor in quality and uncertain in quantity, and the demand for it was seasonal and spasmodic. British interest in this source of supply flared up during periods of diplomatic tension with Russia and as quickly died down with the restoration of amicable relations.

It is very doubtful if British officials had a clear idea of the difficulties and discouragements of pioneering farming, or of the gruelling labour of preparing hemp for market without adequate machinery. It is common knowledge to-day that, in order to

<sup>61</sup>*Q.*, vol. 312, pp. 8-14, Gore to Castlereagh, Aug. 5, 1808—"The inhabitants incapable of waiting for the return of sales"; vol. 290, pp. 52-71, 301-10; *Upper Canada state book*, vol. C, pp. 121-31; *Upper Canada land petitions*, vol. H (1797-1818), pp. 1-42, executive council on hemp cultivation.

secure the best results in the cultivation of hemp, the soil should be well prepared, well drained, and well fertilized. Hemp will not grow in acid soil; it requires rich alluvial or loamy soil, and if it is deficient in phosphates or salts of potassium, it should be enriched by the use of lime, marl, or animal manure. But this information is the result of prolonged and careful investigation.

There was no attempt made by the imperial government to experiment in hemp culture or offer sufficient encouragement to ensure ultimate success. It was left to struggling pioneers, already burdened with many cares, to experiment with an article difficult to produce and vulnerable to adverse climatic conditions and to insect pests. Is it any wonder that they preferred the easier path of making a living, and produced those staples that already commanded a steady market—lumber, fish, and wheat?

NORMAN MACDONALD

## THE HALF-BREED "RISING" OF 1875

IN July, 1875, the Hon. Alexander Morris, lieutenant-governor of Manitoba and the north-west, received a letter<sup>1</sup> from Lawrence Clarke, the Hudson's Bay Company factor at Fort Carlton, informing him that a serious state of affairs had arisen on the south branch of the Saskatchewan and strongly pressing for a detachment of the mounted police. This letter mentioned the establishment of a permanent half-breed settlement at St. Laurent and stated that the half-breeds had "assumed to themselves the right to enact laws, rules and regulations for the Government of the Colony and adjoining country of a most tyrannical nature, which the minority of the settlers are perforce bound to obey or be treated with criminal severity". The "president" of this government was one, Gabriel Dumont, who was alleged to have coerced various "freemen" and Indians on the plains by seizing the property of, and levying fines upon, those who refused to acknowledge his authority. The letter continued with a statement that the Indians, too, were assuming a hostile attitude and urged that "unless we have a certain protective force stationed at or near Carlton, the ensuing Winter, I cannot answer for the result, serious difficulties will assuredly arise and life and property be endangered". Two days later Clarke renewed his request. He enclosed a copy of Dumont's notice to the freemen and concluded, "matters are looking very serious up this way, and nothing but prompt action will save the country from an outbreak".<sup>2</sup>

This news brought consternation, particularly as Clarke's report was confirmed by Chief Commissioner Grahame of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>3</sup> The mention of a half-breed provisional government sounded ominously familiar and conjured up memories of the unfortunate insurrection at Red river five years before. Alarming rumours circulated throughout Manitoba. The *Winnipeg Daily free press* of July 21 appeared with startling headings, "Trouble in the North-West! Another stand against Canadian authority in the North-West! A Provisional Government at Carlton! M. Louis Riel again to the front! 10,000 Crees on the warpath! Fort Carlton in possession of the Rebels! A number of the Mounted Police killed!" Although both Morris

<sup>1</sup>Record department of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Ottawa, *file 333*: Clarke to Morris, July 10, 1875 (by courtesy of the commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police).

<sup>2</sup>Public Record Office, London, *C.O. 42*, vol. 737, quoted in Blake's memorandum, Oct. 9, 1875.

<sup>3</sup>R.C.M.P., *file 333*: Morris to Selby-Smythe, confidential, July 21, 1875.

and Grahame intimated that the report of the rising was probably exaggerated, their reticence to disclose any further information seemed to give credence to the rumours, and many people concluded that history was about to repeat itself.

As subsequent events were to show, this alarm was unfounded. It was based upon a misconception of the real situation. To understand the cause and meaning of the alleged rising of 1875, it is necessary to study the organization of the buffalo hunt, an institution which, of necessity, encouraged interesting experiments in self-government in a land where no established law existed and among a people who lacked political experience.

The buffalo hunt had always been the principal activity of the French half-breeds. Participating in it from early childhood they found little pleasure in any other pursuit. As early as 1820, 540 carts set out from Red river for the plains. Each year this caravan grew in size. The following statement<sup>4</sup> for the summer expedition of 1840 is evidence of the increasing importance of the buffalo hunt:

		£	s	d		£	s	d
1210 carts, number to the plains this year.....	at	1	10	0	each	1815	0	0
620 hunters, 2 months or 60 days.....	"	0	1	0	per day	1860	0	0
650 women, 2 months.....	"	0	0	9	" "	1462	10	0
360 boys and girls.....	"	0	0	4	" "	360	0	0
740 guns.....	"	2	0	0	each	1480	0	0
150 gallons gunpowder.....	"	0	16	0	per gallon	120	0	0
1300 pounds trading balls.....	"	0	1	0	per pound	65	0	0
6240 gun flints.....	"	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	each	13	0	0
100 steel dagues.....	"	0	3	0	"	15	0	0
100 couteaux de chasse.....	"	0	3	0	"	15	0	0
403 buffalo runners (average good and bad)....	"	15	0	0	"	6045	0	0
655 cart horses.....	"	8	0	0	"	5240	0	0
586 draught oxen.....	"	6	0	0	"	3516	0	0
1210 sets of harness.....	"	0	8	0	"	484	0	0
403 riding saddles.....	"	0	8	0	"	161	4	0
403 bridles and whips.....	"	0	10	0	"	201	10	0
1240 scalping knives.....	"	0	0	6	"	31	0	0
448 half axes.....	"	0	2	6	"	56	0	0
Sundries. Camp equipage, such as tents, tent furniture, culinary utensils, too tedious to be enumerated.....						1059	16	0
						£24000	0	0

For the hunt the Métis gathered in large bands under the command of chosen leaders. Early in their history they had learned that only by union could they cope with hostile bands of Indians. Experience and necessity had also evolved a loose code of rules and regulations which, tightened by the bonds of

<sup>4</sup>Alexander Ross, *The Red river settlement: Its rise, progress and present state* (London, 1856), 244. An admirable discussion of the Red river hunt by F. G. Roe appeared in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, ser. 3, sect. 11, XXIX, 1935.

custom, governed the conduct of the hunt. This was the prairie law and all who joined the hunters were subject to its regulations. The particular rules decided upon by the expedition of 1840 included, among others, that no buffalo should be run upon the Sabbath day; that no person or party should lag behind, leave the camp, or go on before without the permission of the camp; that no one should run the buffalo before the general order; that each captain with his men must patrol the camp and keep guard; and that any person convicted of theft should be brought to the centre of the camp while the public crier called out his or her name three times, adding the word "thief" each time.<sup>5</sup> The enforcement of these regulations was placed in the hands of ten captains. Each captain had, under his orders, ten soldiers who acted as policemen. Ten guides were also appointed by the camp, whose duties were to guide the caravan each day, in turn. The hoisting of a flag each morning was the signal for breaking camp, half an hour only being allowed for this purpose. The flag continued to fly all day until the site for the next encampment had been selected. While the flag was flying the guide was absolute chief of the expedition. The captains were subject to him and the soldiers were his messengers; all were under his command. The moment the flag was furled his responsibility ceased and the duties of the captains began. They arranged the camp in the customary circle and directed each cart as it arrived to its appointed place. There was no confusion; everything worked like clockwork. These great caravans were often accompanied by a missionary priest who, with his portable altar, celebrated mass in his tent, taught the children, visited the sick and injured, and formed the nucleus of a fervent though nomadic parish.

The buffalo hunt, whether on foot or on horseback, was a frequent theme of early writers. Ross, Catlin, Palliser, Butler, and others have contributed first-hand accounts of the thrill and excitement of the charge of the hunters and the stampede of the terrified animals. Alexander Ross, who accompanied the expedition of 1840, described the scene as follows:

Our array in the field must have been a grand and imposing one to those who had never seen the like before. No less than 400 huntsmen, all mounted, and anxiously waiting for the word, "Start!" took up their position in a line at one end of the camp, while Captain Wilkie, with his spy-glass at his eye, surveyed the buffalo, examined

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 249.

the ground, and issued his orders. At 8 o'clock the whole cavalcade broke ground, and made for the buffalo; first at a slow trot, then at a gallop, and lastly at full speed. Their advance was over a dead level, the plain having no hollow or shelter of any kind to conceal their approach. We need not answer any queries as to the feeling and anxiety of the camp on such an occasion. When the horsemen started, the cattle might have been a mile and a half ahead; but they had approached to within four or five hundred yards before the bulls curved their tails or pawed the ground. In a moment more the herd took flight, and horse and rider are presently seen bursting in among them; shots are heard, and all is smoke, dust and hurry. The fattest are first singled out for slaughter; and in less time than we have occupied with the description, a thousand carcasses strew the plain.

Those who have seen a squadron of horse dash into battle, may imagine the scene, which we have no skill to depict. The earth seemed to tremble when the horses started; but when the animals fled, it was like the shock of an earthquake. The air was darkened; the rapid firing at first, soon became more and more faint, and at last died away in the distance. Two hours, and all was over; but several hours more elapsed before the result was known, or the hunters reassembled; and who is he so devoid of feeling and curiosity, that could not listen with interest to a detail of the perilous adventure?<sup>6</sup>

The carts were then despatched to bring in the meat and robes. The carcasses were skinned and cut, the work often extending far into the night, for a thunder-storm might render the meat useless and the wolves were never far distant.

The gradual withdrawal of the buffalo from the eastern prairies made these long journeys less profitable and the Métis of Red river were faced with the alternative of wintering upon the plains or giving up their hunting life. The Métis were unsuited, both by training and temperament, to a life of agriculture. The hunt was to them a necessity as well as a pleasure, and many, choosing the more congenial course, elected to remain with their compatriots already living in the interior. At the conclusion of the summer hunt those who did not return to Red river were obliged to seek provisional quarters for the winter. These winter camps were chosen with care. They had to be near a wood for building purposes and fuel, close to a stream or river, and not too far distant from the favourite haunts of the buffalo. The construction of log huts and the establishment of a mission gave these camps a certain solidity and permanency. Winter after winter the Métis returned to the same districts which, after a time, became the sites of permanent villages.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 255-6.



A Métis encampment appears to have made the neighbourhood of Duck lake and Fort Carlton its winter headquarters. In 1868 Father André, who became the mentor of the colony, visited the region for the first time in order to administer to the needs of "quelques familles patriarcales de métis".<sup>7</sup> The events of 1869-70 soon brought an addition to their numbers. Suspicious of, and estranged from, the Canadians, almost immediately many Métis began to trek to the north-west. The non-fulfilment of the promised amnesty and the ill-disguised contempt with which they, the original inhabitants of Red river, were looked upon by the newcomers, destroyed the self-confidence of the Métis. They were unable to compete with the white men in the ways of civilization and turned to the Saskatchewan valley seeking their former state of primitive liberty. In 1871 the community at Duck lake had so increased that they requested the bishop "de leur donner un Père pour rester avec eux",<sup>8</sup> and in accordance with this request a mission was established there on October 8, 1871, bearing the name of St. Laurent.<sup>9</sup> Butler, who visited this region in the winter of 1871-2, has given the following description of a Métis camp which was possibly that of St. Laurent:

Huts promiscuously crowded together; horses, dogs, women, children, all intermixed in a confusion worthy of Donnybrook Fair; half-breed hunters, ribboned, tasselled, and capôted, lazy, idle, and, if there is any spirit in the camp, sure to be intoxicated; remnants and wrecks of buffalo lying everywhere around; robes stretched and drying; meat piled on stages; wolf-skins spread over framework; women drawing water and carrying wood; and at dusk from the little hut the glow of firelight through parchment windows, the sound of fiddle scraped with rough hunter hand, and the quick thud of hunter heel as Louison, or Bâtiste, or Gabriel foot it ceaselessly upon the half-hewn floors.<sup>10</sup>

St. Laurent continued to grow in numbers and importance, but it differed little from the other assemblages of half-breed hunters which were to be found on the borders of the great plains. The buffalo hunt was still regarded as the principal object in life by the Métis, and Father Leduc wrote to his superior-general that:

<sup>7</sup>Writing from St. Laurent on Dec. 15, 1879, Father Fourmond stated: "Ce fut en 1868 qu'un Missionnaire aborda pour la première fois aux rives de notre beau lac. C'était le Père André... Il venait visiter quelques familles patriarcales de métis" (*Missions des O.M.I.*, XVIII, 1880, 261).

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, XII, 1874, 42; R. P. Légeard to R. P. Martinet, June 7, 1872.

<sup>9</sup>*Souvenir du pèlerinage de N. D. de Lourdes à St. Laurent* (1925), 2.

<sup>10</sup>W. F. Butler, *The wild northland: Being the story of a winter journey, with dogs, across northern North America* (London, 1874), 45.

La population du Père André est toujours considérable. Elle formerait une belle et prospère Mission si elle promettait de se fixer irrévocablement dans une localité. Malheureusement la plupart de ces métis n'ont quitté la Rivière Rouge que pour courir plus aisément après les buffles de la prairie. Il est bien à craindre qu'ils ne laissent la Mission du Père André pour s'avancer davantage encore dans les prairies où les buffles s'éloignent de plus en plus, et finiront par disparaître tout à fait, dans un avenir qui paraît prochain.<sup>11</sup>

The clergy were anxious to prevent further dispersion of the Métis. They foresaw that only a few years remained to the buffalo, and that if the Métis were to continue as a distinct people or to compete with the white immigrants, they must establish their community upon a more lasting basis.

On December 10, 1873, all the Métis living in the neighbourhood assembled at St. Laurent. Father André had enlisted the support of their acknowledged leader, Gabriel Dumont, and urged upon the Métis that, in the absence of any effective Canadian authority in the north-west, they should form some provisional organization of their own "pour administrer la justice et juger les différends qui peuvent s'élever au milieu d'eux".<sup>12</sup> The half-breeds had no experience in self-government; indeed, according to Ross, "they cordially detest all the laws and restraints of civilized life, believing all men were born to be free. . . . They cherish freedom as they cherish life."<sup>13</sup> The law of the prairie applied only to the actual hunt and upon their return from the plains the hunters relapsed into their former state of untrammelled liberty. Nevertheless the organization of the buffalo hunt was readily adaptable to political purposes and to this extent the Métis were prepared to accept a form of government. Guided by Father André and encouraged by Dumont, the Métis agreed to elect a council and to submit to the laws and regulations imposed by it. Gabriel Dumont was elected president for one year, and Alexandre Hamelin, Baptiste Garriepy, Abraham Montour, Isadore Dumont, Jean Dumont, Moyse Walet (Moïse Ouellette), and Baptiste Hamelin were elected councillors.

After the president and councillors had taken an oath before Father André "d'accomplir fidèlement leur devoir et de juger dans

<sup>11</sup>*Missions des O.M.I.*, XII, 1874, 524-5: R. P. Leduc to T. R. P. Supérieur-Général, Jan. 3, 1874.

<sup>12</sup>*Copie des lois et réglementations établies pour la colonie de St. Laurent sur la Saskatchewan.* The original of this document was received by the Public Archives of Canada several years ago, and was bound and photostated. There is also a copy to be found at the R.C.M.P., file 333.

<sup>13</sup>Ross, *The Red river settlement*, 252.

la droiture de leur conscience sans acception de personne, les causes qui seraient déferées à leur tribunal",<sup>14</sup> the assembled Métis proceeded to adopt a code of "lois et régulations pour la colonie de St. Laurent sur la Saskatchewan". The articles of the code covered nearly the whole life of the community. The first seven articles provided for monthly meetings of the president and council and fixed the penalties for non-attendance at these meetings, refusal to carry out or obey the orders of the council, and wilful contempt of the new government. Articles 8 to 13 fixed the fees and costs of adjudication; articles 16 to 18 regulated the making of contracts between different parties; articles 15, 21, 22, and 23 provided for the punishment of horse thieves, seducers, slanderers, and those who left camp fires burning on the prairie; article 24 provided for free ferrys on Sundays for those who were on their way to mass—a concession which did not, however, extend to those "qui traversera sans se rendre à l'église". Articles 25 and 26 required owners to make good any damage caused by their horses and dogs, and articles 27 and 28 governed the relations of master and servant. The enforcement of these regulations was placed in the hands of captains and soldiers chosen after the fashion of the buffalo hunt. The decisions of the president and council were to be final and it was stipulated that:

Toute affaire décidée devant le conseil établi à St. Laurent ne pourra être rappelée par aucune des parties devant un autre tribunal quand le gouvernement du Canada aura placé des magistrats réguliers dans le pays, et toutes les personnes qui plaident le font avec la connaissance qu'ils promettent de ne jamais rappeler des décisions données par le conseil établi à St. Laurent, et personne n'est admis à jouir des privilèges de cette communauté qu'avec la conviction expresse de se soumettre à cette loi.

There was, however, no intention on the part of the Métis to set up any authority in conflict with that of Canada. It was expressly stated that:

Il est bien entendu qu'en faisant ces lois et ces règlements, les habitants de St. Laurent ne prétendent nullement constituer pour eux un état indépendant; mais la situation actuelle du pays où ils vivent les oblige à prendre quelques mesures pour maintenir la paix et l'union parmi eux, sachant qu'une société aussi large que la leur ne peut exister sans une organisation quelconque, pour se sauvegarder mutuellement leurs droits. Mais en formant ces lois ils se reconnaissent les sujets loyaux et fidèles du Canada et se sont préparés à abandonner leur propre organisation et à se sou-

<sup>14</sup>*Copie des lois et régulations, etc.*

mettre aux lois de la Dominion, aussitôt que le Canada aura établi au milieu d'eux des magistrats réguliers avec une force suffisante pour maintenir dans le pays l'autorité de la loi.

Two months later further regulations were made. The settlement of a certain number of half-breed families upon the land in the neighbourhood of the camp led inevitably to boundary disputes. Dumont, feeling incompetent to make any general ruling without the express approval of the people concerned, accordingly convoked a general assembly of the Métis of St. Laurent on February 10. This gathering authorized the president and council to appoint a commission of three "hommes compétents" to inquire into the various disputes—the commissioners to be paid 5 shillings per day by the party at fault—and passed a series of resolutions regulating the land question. To establish a right to proprietorship, each claimant must stake his claim and settle upon it within six months; each head of a family and each single man of twenty years or over could stake one lot, one-fourth of a mile wide by two miles in length; each proprietor had the exclusive right to the hay and wood on his lot, but all "terres uniquement couvertes de bois et impropres à la culture seront communes à tous les habitants établis à St. Laurent".

The success of the Métis provisional government and the benefits therefrom were formally confirmed at a general assembly of the Métis at St. Laurent on December 10, 1874. As a year had elapsed since the election of the council, Dumont and his colleagues prepared to surrender their authority. All, however, bore witness to "les bienfaits salutaires de ces lois qu'ils avaient établies et grâce à cette organisation ils avaient vécu en paix et sans le moindre trouble". Father André, in particular, addressed to the Métis "une puissante exhortation" to maintain their provisional organization and their laws, and advised the re-election of those "qui avaient veillé sur leurs intérêts avec tant de dévouement pendant l'année qui venait de passer, leur rappelant les mesures salutaires qui avaient été passées, les haines, les querelles, les désordres qui avaient été évités par l'établissement de ces lois et de ce gouvernement au milieu d'eux". As a result Gabriel Dumont was again elected president, and Alexandre Hamelin, Baptiste Boyer, Abraham Montour, Moyse Walet, Jean Dumont, Isadore Dumont, and Baptiste Hamelin, councillors. The general assembly then proceeded to ratify the measures which had been passed during the year and once more promised to give full support to the provisional council.

Even the simplest government cannot carry on without recourse to taxation, and on January 27, 1875, the president and council met to consider the means of raising money to build a school for their growing settlement. The following resolution was passed without a dissenting voice:

La nécessité d'une école se faisant grandement sentir dans la paroisse de St. Laurent, tous les chefs de famille de la dite paroisse sont taxés un Louis de contribution pour bâtir la maison d'école; cette contribution sera payée en argent, en vivres, en ouvrage selon la volonté et la commodité de chacun; mais personne n'est exempt de cette contribution, à moins qu'il vienne prouver devant le conseil l'impossibilité de payer. Un mois est alloué à chacun pour venir remettre sa contribution à Mr. Moyse Wallet qui est chargé de recevoir les contributions pour l'érection de la maison d'école.

Among the tasks undertaken by the provisional council of St. Laurent was that of giving formal shape to the traditional rules governing the buffalo hunt. These rules were very ancient, and, owing to the nature of the country and the people, inevitable. Even with reference to the application of such rules as affected others than those of the Métis camp, both custom and reason indicated the necessity of some regulation, inasmuch as the presence of a few independent hunters could render useless the regulations of the great camp and jeopardize the success of the hunt. The law of the prairie was finally set forth in a code of twenty-five articles. This code emphasized the communal nature of the hunt and imposed penalties upon those who contravened its regulations. A general assembly of the Métis was to fix the dates of departure for, and return from, the plains, and the route to be taken. The decision of the majority was in each case to be binding upon the whole community. No individual or party was, therefore, to leave for the plains before the agreed date,—permission might be granted by the council to those in dire need, but even they were forbidden to proceed beyond a certain distance under pain of "une grosse amende que le conseil jugera selon le dommage qu'ils auront causé". Article 23 extended this regulation to any independent party which might be found upon the plains: "Si quelque parti sous prétexte d'indépendance et de vivre en toute liberté vivait dans le voisinage de la grosse caravane, le conseil du gros camp avertira d'abord les gens de ne pas courir les animaux en dehors du temps fixé par le conseil du grand camp, s'ils enfreignent cette défense, le conseil du grand camp prendra les mesures pour obliger les gens à se joindre à leur camp, s'ils ne veulent pas de

bonne volonté ils les obligeront de force." Other articles detailed the organization of the expedition and the conduct of the hunt. The nightly camps were to be laid out in the traditional circle under the supervision of two captains and their soldiers; all members of the camp were liable for sentry duty, the penalty for falling asleep in performance of this duty varying from 5 shillings in the case of a soldier to one Louis in that of a councillor; all fires were to be extinguished on breaking camp. No person or party was to begin the chase before the given signal; any hunter who should wound a companion or a horse was to share the proceeds of his hunt with the unfortunate; and any hunter who abandoned his kill upon the prairie was to be fined one Louis for each animal.

The "lois et régulations établies pour la colonie de St. Laurent sur la Saskatchewan" appear to have been productive of general good to the community, although, with Father André, we must admit that their observance was in a large measure due to the efforts of the clergy. "Otez le prêtre", wrote André, "les lois et les règlements seront lettre morte, comme l'expérience ne le prouve que trop." But their importance lies, not in the undoubted benefits which they brought to the Métis, but in the experiment in self-government which they constituted. Considering the nomadic nature of the half-breeds, their lack of education and their intolerance of restraint, one is astonished at the political sense displayed by the Métis and at the success of their unique experiment. In December, 1873, the authority of the Dominion of Canada had not yet penetrated to the valley of the Saskatchewan. The North West Mounted Police were not yet fully organized and the north-west council was, at most, a makeshift body in whose resolutions the federal government took little interest. Thus it was the French half-breeds, assisted by their clergy, who were the pioneers of government in the Canadian north-west.

The attempt to extend the laws of the prairie to persons who were not members of the community of St. Laurent brought about the collapse of this Métis *imperium in imperio*. During the spring hunt of 1875 Dumont learned that an independent party of half-breeds and Indians had, about ten days earlier, proceeded to the plains. The buffalo were now greatly diminished in numbers and there was a danger that this party might drive the neighbouring herds beyond the reach of the St. Laurent hunters. Dumont

accordingly despatched a courier with the following letter<sup>15</sup> addressed to the freemen ordering them to join the larger camp:

17 June 1875

My friends, we are not satisfied that you go so before us and you are hunting in our Country, therefore all the people of the Métis of Carlton pray you to come all at once to our camp, if that agree not to yourselves, all the cavaliers will go and bring you to our camp and if you cause damage to ourselves you will pay, that concerns especially the Métis of your camp.

We write to you as friends to advise you, if you will not believe us certainly you will pay all cavaliers who will go and bring you.

We are well—your servants all the people Métis of Carlton encamped on the plains.

(sgd) Gabriel Dumont.

The freemen refused. Dumont did not hesitate to carry out his threat. With forty of his followers, fully armed with repeating rifles, he set out in pursuit, and, coming across the party, seized all the horses and carts, together with what provisions and effects they had secured, leaving the freemen destitute of transport or conveyance for themselves or families. Finding that the freemen were not to be coerced into joining the Métis camp, Dumont returned the confiscated property, but fined one Primeau, a French half-breed, the sum of \$25.00.<sup>16</sup> Primeau, who had been supplied with goods by the Hudson's Bay Company and quietly despatched to the plains to steal a march upon the other hunters,<sup>17</sup> and Peter Ballendine, an ex-company employee who accompanied him, returned to Fort Carlton, reported their experience in exaggerated terms to Chief Factor Clarke, and thus started the alarming rumour of a half-breed "rising" in the Saskatchewan valley.

On receipt of Clarke's letter the Canadian authorities acted quickly. The events of 1869-70 were recent enough to require no reminder and Clarke's statements were confirmed by the chief commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company. Lieutenant-Governor Morris at once consulted the Hon. James Mackay, a prominent Scottish half-breed member of the north-west council. Mackay was inclined to believe that the Métis had merely designed to form a prairie hunt organization, but the statements of Clarke and Grahame were such that Morris deemed it advisable to inform the secretary of state at Ottawa of the alleged rising

<sup>15</sup>Quoted in Blake's memorandum, Oct. 9, 1875.

<sup>16</sup>R.C.M.P., file 333: Clarke to Morris, July 10, 1875.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*: Extract of a letter from the constable in charge of Shoal lake, Aug. 4, 1875.



and to address a confidential letter to Major-General Sir E. Selby-Smythe, the officer in charge of the Canadian militia, who was then on a tour of inspection of the mounted police in the North West Territories. The federal government, lacking further information than was contained in Morris's telegram, gave Commissioner French of the mounted police full authority to deal with the half-breeds,<sup>18</sup> and instructed Colonel Macleod at Fort Macleod to increase the escort for Selby-Smythe.<sup>19</sup> Morris's letter overtook Selby-Smythe as he joined French at Swan river. There was no means of verifying the truth of Clarke's report or of knowing the extent of the alleged rising except by a visit to the disaffected region. Accordingly French suggested the despatch to Fort Carlton of fifty men "as a party of observation".<sup>20</sup> The major-general concurred in this suggestion and wrote to the minister of justice that, while "it is probable that the report may be exaggerated", the presence of this body of men would "prevent the spread of mischievous complications with the half-breeds".<sup>21</sup> A party of fifty men, led by French and accompanied by Selby-Smythe, set out immediately. They arrived at Fort Carlton on August 5, having covered 270 miles in the rapid time of eight days.<sup>22</sup>

When the police arrived at St. Laurent the greater number of the half-breeds were still upon the plains. Those who had returned protested that they had not acted "in defiance of the law, but in total ignorance of having committed any crime".<sup>23</sup> French accordingly reported by telegram that "the outrages by half-breeds in this vicinity are of a trivial nature",<sup>24</sup> and Selby-Smythe wrote to the minister of justice that "the subject forwarded to me with Lieutenant-Governor Morris' despatch of 21st ultimo does not appear in its present condition to demand more than magisterial interference".<sup>25</sup> Selby-Smythe saw no necessity to remain at Fort Carlton and continued his journey to Fort Pitt. French likewise returned to Swan river with the greater part of his force, leaving Inspector Crozier and twelve men to make further inquiries. On August 17 French forwarded a report to Morris. He stated that he "found no sufficient cause for the

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*: Telegram to the commissioner, July 23, 1875.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*: Telegram to Macleod, July 23, 1875.

<sup>20</sup>*C.O.* 42, vol. 741: Selby-Smythe to the minister of justice, Nov. 27, 1875.

<sup>21</sup>*R.C.M.P., file 333*: Selby-Smythe to the minister of justice, July 27, 1875.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*: Despatch from Commissioner French, Aug. 6, 1875.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*: Clarke to Morris, Aug. 6, 1875.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*: French to the minister of justice, Aug. 7, 1875.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*: Selby-Smythe to the minister of justice, Aug. 6, 1875.

alarming reports relative to disturbances, and assumption of governing powers by certain half-breeds near St. Laurent", and expressed his belief that "His Honor, and I fear the Dominion Government, have been unnecessarily agitated by the alarming reports received".<sup>26</sup>

Crozier had been instructed to arrest Dumont upon the latter's return from the plains, to bring the Métis president before himself and Chief Factor Clarke as justices of the peace, and to deal with him according to the evidence. For this purpose Crozier and Clarke attended a gathering of the Métis at St. Laurent on August 20. The half-breeds explained the purpose of their provisional organization and protested that they had no intention of doing wrong; instead they thought they were justified in making laws for their own guidance in the absence of a protective force of the Canadian government. Dumont was present at this meeting. He apologized for his conduct and offered to make any reparation necessary. There was no real need to punish Dumont. Prairie custom was on his side and French had been able to find only two acts to which objection might possibly be taken, neither of which afforded adequate grounds for the despatch of a body of mounted police to Fort Carlton.<sup>27</sup> After considering the matter with Clarke, Crozier dismissed Dumont with an admonition and reported to French that the half-breeds were "loyal and law abiding and . . . anxious that the Government send magistrates before whom they can legally settle their differences".<sup>28</sup>

The federal authorities were anxious to know the details of the Métis enactments, so French instructed sub-Inspector Fréchette to obtain from Father André a copy of the "lois et régulations établies pour la colonie de St. Laurent sur la Saskatchewan". André made a complete copy, also outlining the organization of the provisional council and making certain recommendations for the preservation of the rapidly disappearing buffalo. On reading this document the Commissioner observed:

A careful perusal of these Rules does not alter the views which I held, relative to the exaggerated accounts given by the Hudson's Bay Company officials regarding the Government set up by these simple hunters. On the prairie such regulations are absolutely indispensable and invariably enforced in all parts of the North-West as far as I am aware. It is not to be wondered at, that

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*: French to Morris, Aug. 17, 1875.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*: French to the deputy minister of justice, Sept. 14, 1875.

<sup>28</sup>Crozier to French, Sept. 8, 1875, quoted in Blake's memorandum, Oct. 9, 1875.

somewhat similar Rules should be adopted for the settlement at St. Laurent, or "Winter Camp" as they call it. . . . looked at from a human nature point of view, it is not extraordinary, that in a country where no Law virtually exists, and where the few Justices of the Peace are Hudson's Bay Company officials, inimical to them (as they suppose), settlements should band themselves together for mutual protection. A reference to Rule 19 will show that every person voluntarily became a member of the association, this being the case, they have themselves to blame if they find the regulations too severe.<sup>29</sup>

The government endorsed this view. Blake drew up a long memorandum which concluded that the "*lois et régulations*" could not be considered objectionable in themselves, but that they furnished a "strong reason for early action in providing a competent local government and administration of justice".<sup>30</sup>

The final word came from the secretary of state for the colonies who wrote: "I have read Mr. Blake's full and able report with much interest, and trust that it may lead to provision being made at an early date for the administration of justice in this part of the Dominion under a legitimate system of law and government, in the absence of which it would be difficult to take strong exception to the acts of a community which appears to have honestly endeavoured to maintain order by the best means in its power."<sup>31</sup>

GEORGE F. G. STANLEY

<sup>29</sup>French to the deputy minister of justice, Sept. 14, 1875.

<sup>30</sup>Blake's memorandum, Oct. 9, 1875.

<sup>31</sup>*C.O.* 42, vol. 737: Carnarvon to Dufferin, Dec. 3, 1875.

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### THE HISTORICAL RENAISSANCE IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES AND IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

The following two short notes have been written, at the request of the editor, by Dr. J. C. Webster of Shediac, N.B., and Professor W. N. Sage of the University of British Columbia. The information contained in them is evidence of a growing activity in historical matters of which there are welcome signs in certain other parts of Canada as well. It is only fair to add that Dr. Webster and Professor Sage have had a large share in stimulating the interest which they describe.

#### I

The account of the opening of the Fort Beauséjour Museum in Chignecto, N.B., published in the September issue of this REVIEW, bears a significance of far greater importance than might ordinarily be associated with an account of a public ceremony.

The event marks the latest of a series of developments, during recent years, which must be regarded as evidence of a veritable historical renaissance in the Maritime Provinces. Previous to this period, there was widespread indifference (except in a very few places) to the rich traditions of the region or to any obligation which recognition of them should involve. Scant attention was given to the care of public records. Many private possessions were neglected, destroyed, or sold. Historic places remained, for the most part, unmarked, and historic personages uncommemorated. Scant attention was given either to local or general Canadian history in schools and colleges.

A very different report may now be made. Within twenty years these provinces have been enriched by the development of the New Brunswick Museum and the Public Archives of Nova Scotia; and of historical museums at Fort Anne (Annapolis Royal), Grand Pré, East Pubnico, Louisbourg, Fort Beauséjour, Fredericton, and Chatham, N.B. Of supreme importance is the increasing attention given to history in the common schools. This has been particularly marked in Nova Scotia, whose chief superintendent of education deserves much credit for his efforts in this

direction. With the co-operation of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, the great resources of this institution have been made available for educational purposes throughout the province, with financial assistance from the Carnegie Corporation. Similarly, in New Brunswick, the extensive historical collections in the New Brunswick Museum are being used for instruction, both intra- and extra-mural. A system of lending exhibits to schools has been developed which has been so greatly appreciated that it is now very difficult to keep pace with the requests which come from all parts of the province. Efforts are also being made in some of the communities in which the above-mentioned institutions are placed, to encourage the attendance of groups of young people at informal talks, film and slide demonstrations.

As to the influences which have been responsible for these changed conditions, I give great prominence to the work of the historic sites and monuments board. During the past twenty years, many memorials have been erected and unveiled, with public ceremony, thus calling attention to the important events and personages of the past. In the same period the development of national historic parks and museums at Annapolis Royal, Chignecto, and Louisbourg has aroused much interest among the people of the provinces, as well as among many thousands of visitors. Under such conditions an historic atmosphere has been created. The efforts of historians, of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the splendid co-operation of the press, addresses in public and private, books and magazine articles, have all contributed to the influences through which the historical re-awakening has been accomplished. Nowhere has this been more evident than in the area known as Chignecto and in the adjacent counties of Westmorland and Albert, N.B., and Cumberland, N.S., whose inhabitants represent mainly the Acadian French, the pre-Loyalist Americans, the Yorkshire settlers, and the Loyalists.

On the eminence of Beauséjour, crowned by the old fortifications of the French and British, a small museum has been built by the dominion government. When first projected it was believed that a limited number of exhibits, chiefly relating to the military history of the district, might be collected. Careful investigation carried on during several months made it evident that the museum could be developed along broader lines, by which the civil life of the past, in its various aspects, could be illustrated. As the project was portrayed to the people it seemed to captivate their imagination, and responses to requests for gifts and loans were imme-

diate and generous, with the result that, by the end of the year, practically all the available space will be occupied.

It is not surprising that more than twenty thousand people have already visited this museum and that it has already become one of the chief attractions for tourists in the Maritime Provinces. Of far greater importance, however, is the place which it has taken in the hearts of the people of the region, who now feel that it is their own creation, embodying their own traditions, and preserving the records of a not-inglorious past.

Many expressions of appreciation have been received from near and far during recent weeks. The following is part of a letter written to me a short time ago: "I have just returned from my first visit to the Fort Beauséjour National Park Museum, and, as this is Thanksgiving Day, I feel that it is appropriate to thank you for bringing such a splendid thing into being. It is the most glamorous and beautiful little museum I have ever been in,—it laid a spell on me! In architecture and decoration it is a gem, and the exhibits are so beautifully displayed that it combines the charm of antiquity with the grace of an art gallery. One can sense strange things in that place and the past came vividly alive again . . . I think I shall be dreaming about it to night."

J. C. WEBSTER

## II

From the Maritime Provinces to British Columbia is a far step but the Pacific province shares with its Atlantic sisters an increased interest in the study of provincial history. Many agencies are collaborating, but the essential fact is that British Columbians are now becoming more historically minded.

The history of history in British Columbia dates from the commencement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the late seventies Hubert Howe Bancroft of California, while engaged in gathering materials for his histories, visited Victoria, B.C. He obtained some valuable items, including Sir James Douglas's private papers, "The history of the North West Coast" by Alexander Caulfield Anderson, and John Tod's "New Caledonia". Bancroft's *History of British Columbia* appeared in 1887, and Alexander Begg, the Crofter commissioner, published his volume, bearing the same title, in 1894. R. E. Gosnell, the first provincial librarian of British Columbia in 1897 produced his *Year book of British Columbia*. He did not find it possible to issue annual year books, but published them at irregular intervals.

Gosnell also collaborated with Mr. R. H. Coats, the dominion statistician, in the preparation of *Sir James Douglas* in the "Makers of Canada series".

By this time E. O. S. Scholefield had succeeded R. E. Gosnell as librarian and archivist and was making that collection of North-west Americana which has caused the provincial library in Victoria to become recognized as one of the few great repositories in that field. Collaborating with Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, the "dean of British Columbia historians", Scholefield published in 1914 *British Columbia from the earliest times to the present*, a four-volume work of which only the first two, the historical portion, bear the names of the authors. Later, Scholefield and Gosnell produced their elaborate *British Columbia: Sixty years of progress*. The untimely death of E. O. S. Scholefield in 1919 was a blow to British Columbian history. But he had built the library and archives addition to the provincial legislative buildings in which is housed the collection he had aided in creating. The new library and archives dates from 1914 just before the outbreak of the great war.

It was around this archives that the British Columbia Historical Association was formed in the autumn of 1922. Judge Howay was the first president and Mr. John Forsyth, then provincial librarian and archivist, the first secretary. The society flourished and published four reports in 1923, 1924, and 1925 and the last in 1929. Professor W. N. Sage edited the first three and Mr. Donald Fraser the fourth report, but the depression put an end to publication for the time being. The association, however, continued to function and received support especially from Victoria and southern Vancouver island. It was designed to be province-wide in its scope, but since the constitution had made no provision for local branches it was, by force of geographical circumstances, confined in its activities to Victoria and vicinity.

After the resignation of Mr. Forsyth, the late John Hosie was appointed librarian and archivist. He struggled manfully on during the depression and was just through the worst of it when he was stricken in 1934. His successor is Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, an honour graduate in history of the University of British Columbia, who obtained his doctor's degree from the University of London.

The British Columbia Historical Association had often discussed the advisability of the creation of branches in other portions of the province. Matters came to a head during the winter of 1935-6 when Dr. Robie L. Reid of Vancouver put forward pro-



posals for a federal scheme. These proposals were adopted. At the same time plans were formulated for the foundation of a British Columbia historical journal or quarterly. Sufficient funds now seem in sight to launch this venture and it is anticipated that the first number of the journal will appear under the editorship of the provincial archivist, in January, 1937.

In the federal scheme the old parent society becomes the Victoria section (section no. 1) of the British Columbia Historical Association. The Vancouver section (section no. 2) was organized on October 3, 1936. It is anticipated that sections will be founded in Kamloops, Penticton, Princeton, Revelstoke, and other cities and towns in the interior of the province. The British Columbia Historical Association should in no way compete with the Canadian Historical Association since it is entirely devoted to provincial and not to national history. The *British Columbia historical journal* will also be confined to the provincial field.

There has also been a rather interesting movement towards the formation of local historical societies. The Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver has been functioning for years, but its main interest has been in the maintenance of the Vancouver City Museum. The Okanagan Historical Society has just published its sixth report. The Similkameen Historical Association is very active, and the recently formed Fraser Canyon Historical Association is also functioning well. Two years ago the University of British Columbia Graduate Historical Association was formed and during the session of 1935-6 worked on the history of the city of Vancouver.

In addition, there is a definite interest evinced in the foundation of local museums. The Prince Rupert Museum was opened in June, 1936. It has a very fine collection of Indian materials, and many totem poles from the Queen Charlottes, the Skeena, and the Nass rivers have been erected in Prince Rupert. In connection with the celebration of Vancouver's golden jubilee several valuable totem poles, including one newly carved by Chief Matthias Joe as a gift from the Squamish nation, have been erected in Stanley park. Kamloops is planning a local museum to be opened on the occasion of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the fur posts at or near the junction of the North and South Thompson rivers.

The provincial archives has in the past few years obtained the Donald Ross papers and just recently was given additional private papers of Sir James Douglas. The manuscript collection, one of

the most valuable in western Canada, is being made more available to research students and many new additions have been received. The photographic collection is now classified and constitutes almost a visual history of the colonial and provincial periods.

The University of British Columbia is giving attention to the problems of historical research in the provincial field. This year a graduate seminar in British Columbian history has been instituted. Ten masters theses and eight honour graduating essays in the local field have been completed and are available in the university library. The graduating classes of 1931 commenced a collection of British Columbian and Yukon materials and the graduating classes of 1935 have given a contribution to this cause. Recently the Summer Session Students Association of the university has become interested.

The newest development in the field is a project on the study of local history in the province which the Summer Session Students Association is now considering. It provides for a comprehensive scheme of local collection and stresses the necessity of the teachers in rural schools interesting their pupils in the local history of British Columbia. Progress had already been made in one or two places before the general scheme had even been thought of. In Merritt, B.C., for example, the high-school principal had inspired the students to form a useful local collection.

It may be claimed, therefore, that interest in the history of British Columbia is being stimulated. The surface is as yet hardly scratched, but already there are signs that British Columbians are realizing that their province has a history as fascinating and as varied as that of any other portion of Canada.

W. N. SAGE

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#### A LETTER BY LORD SELKIRK ON TRADE BETWEEN RED RIVER AND THE UNITED STATES

The following letter, written on December 22, 1817, by Lord Selkirk to John Quincy Adams, the American secretary of state, constitutes the first attempt to promote an international trade between the Red river settlement and the United States. That it directly resulted in the establishment of an international trade cannot be claimed. But very shortly after it was written, an international business of some consequence was being transacted between the frontier settlements of the north-west. During the

winter of 1819-20, a score of Red river men journeyed across country to Prairie du Chien for a supply of seed grain, the settlement's grain crops for the two previous seasons having been completely destroyed by grasshoppers. At that northern outpost of American settlement, they purchased 250 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of oats, 30 bushels of peas, and some chickens; and during the spring these several commodities were transported to the Red river in flat-bottomed boats.<sup>1</sup>

The next year Hercules L. Dousman, merchant and fur-trader at Prairie du Chien, contracted to furnish the settlement with cattle. Alexis Bailly and François Labothe, Americans, were hired to drive the cattle to Red river; and, during the late fall, they succeeded in delivering at least one drove which was "bought up" by the settlers "with great avidity".<sup>2</sup>

Early in the following year, Alexander McDonell, governor of Red river, John Pritchard, manager of the Buffalo Company, and James Bird, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, requisitioned from Dousman at Prairie du Chien "sundry articles" to the amount of £4,500.<sup>3</sup> As a result of these orders, Dousman made a trip to Red river in the summer with the idea of establishing a regular commercial business with the settlers and the Hudson's Bay Company. The principal commodities which he offered to supply to the settlement were pork, flour, spirits, and tobacco. He extended to the Hudson's Bay Company "a tender to deliver any quantity [of tobacco] from 50 to 100,000 lbs deliverable at Sault St. Marys at 18<sup>d</sup> plb Twist & 15<sup>d</sup> plb for Carrot. . .".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The *Nor'-wester*, March 1, 1861; Henry H. Sibley, "Reminiscences, historical and personal" (*Minnesota historical collections*, St. Paul, 1872, I, 470); George A. Belcourt, "Department of Hudson's bay" (*ibid.*, I, 220); Alexander Ross, *The Red river settlement* (London, 1856), 50 ff. Sibley states that 200 bushels of wheat were secured, while Ross lists the amount as 250 bushels. In the *Nor'-wester*, it is reported that the wheat cost \$2.50 per bushel. The total cost of the expedition to Lord Selkirk was £1,040 sterling.

<sup>2</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Selkirk papers*, 7617, Simpson to Colville, May 22, 1822; Astor House at Mackinac, *Mackinac register*, Ramsay Crooks to Joseph Rolette, March 28, 1822; "Diary of Nicholas Garry" (*Proceedings and transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, n.s., VI, 1900, 139); Ross, *The Red river settlement*, 73; Sibley, "Reminiscences", 469; E. D. Neill, "Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840" (*Minnesota historical collections*, II, 1889, 107). It is impossible to state exactly how many cattle were driven to the settlement in 1821. Ross says "some 300 head". Neill mentions that Bailly left Fort Snelling early in August "for the Red River Settlement with a drove of thirty or forty cattle". Garry notes in his "Diary", under the date of August 4, that a Mr. Laidlaw, manager of the Hay Field farm, had been "to the sources of the Mississippi [more probably to Lake Traverse] to meet 150 head of cattle which are coming from the United States". And Simpson remarks that some of the Dousman cattle "were left at Lac Travers (our Post in the Sioux Country) last winter and many of them lost, but . . . a few Cattle have made their appearance . . .".

<sup>3</sup>*Mackinac register*: Ramsay Crooks to Maitlands Garden and Auldjo, March 28, 1822.

<sup>4</sup>*Selkirk papers*, 7616: Simpson to Colville.

From these humble business transactions there grew up in the course of the next three decades an international mid-western trade of vast proportions—a trade which undoubtedly far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of Lord Selkirk in 1817.

At the time he wrote this trade negotiation, Lord Selkirk was *en route* from his settlement through the United States to the Canadas. In the summer months of 1817 he had busied himself at Red river in re-establishing his colony, which had been destroyed in the previous year by the machinations of the North West Company, and in planning for its general welfare. On September 9, he took leave for the Canadas by way of the United States. It was at Prairie du Chien and St. Louis<sup>5</sup> that he learned of the regulations of the American government which he here draws to the attention of the secretary of state.<sup>6</sup>

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

Baltimore, Dec. 22, 1817

Sir

I take the liberty of calling your attention to some regulations now in force, relative to the trade of the Indian Territories within the United States; which (as I conceive) produce effects that can not have been in contemplation, & form a bar to a commerce of mutual benefit, between certain parts of the United States, & the British Settlements.

You are probably aware that I have acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company a part of the extensive tract of land which is granted to them by their charter;<sup>7</sup> & that in consequence of this, I have commenced a Settlement on the Red River, not far from its outlet into Lake Winipic [Winnipeg] & in Latitude about 50°.<sup>8</sup>

In the course of the journey, which I have recently made from that establishment to St. Louis, & the Ohio, I have had occasion to observe the great facilities which nature offers, for a commercial intercourse between the country which I propose to establish, & the American settlements in the Missouri & Illinois Territories; from whence our people might draw their supplies of many articles, by way of the Mississippi, & River St. Peters [Minnesota], with greater facility than from Canada

<sup>5</sup>*Niles' weekly register*, XIV, 388 ff.: Benjamin O'Fallon to Ninian Edwards, July 14, 1818.

<sup>6</sup>The original is in the department of state, Washington, *Miscellaneous letters*, 178 ff.

<sup>7</sup>For a detailed account of Selkirk's purchase, see John Perry Pritchett, "The Selkirk purchase of the Red river valley, 1811" (*Journal of economic and business history*, III, 1931, 529 ff.).

<sup>8</sup>For an account of the establishment of the Red river settlement, see Chester Martin, *Lord Selkirk's work in Canada* (Oxford, 1916).

or from Europe. This traffic, tho' it might be of small account at first, would increase with the progress of our Settlements, creating a growing demand for many articles of American produce; & that, in the interior parts of the country, where your citizens are the most remote from a market. For some articles, such as Tobacco,<sup>9</sup> there may perhaps be a considerable demand from the first; as I presume the Hudson's Bay Company would find it for their interest to receive their supplies for the Indian trade by the same route.<sup>10</sup>

I understand however that this intercourse cannot at present be opened, because the route lies thro' the Indian Country, into which no person can proceed without a license:—& these licenses are granted only to those who are considered as proper to be employed in the Indian Trade. But I am informed that passports are readily granted to any persons who wish to go from the Missouri or Illinois Territory to Michillimackinac, & that there is no obstruction to the conveyance of goods to or from the British frontier by this route, tho' it lies for a considerable distance thro' Indian lands:—& I conceive that on the same principle, similar facilities may be allowed for the intercourse between these Territories & Red River. It appears that this is beyond the competency of the local authorities at St. Louis: but I presume that the obstacles may be removed by the general government, without derogating from any of the essential objects of the regulations in question.<sup>11</sup>

In the present circumstances of the Settlement at Red River, it is particularly desirable to open this intercourse without delay, so as to afford an opportunity to my settlers to obtain a supply of cattle & sheep, to replace those which have been destroyed by the lawless partisans

<sup>9</sup>See above Dousman's endeavours in 1822 to supply both the settlement and the company with tobacco.

<sup>10</sup>Selkirk's suggestion that the Hudson's Bay Company might avail itself of trade possibilities in the United States was realized in some measure in the middle of the century. In 1858-9, the company made arrangements with the United States whereby it could transport its goods in bond by way of St. Paul and Red river. See *Executive journal of state of Minnesota, 1863-1865*, 54, Ramsey to Sibley, May 8, 1863; and *Statistics of the foreign and domestic commerce of the United States. Communicated by the secretary of the treasury . . . , March 12, 1863* (Washington, 1864), 218 ff.

<sup>11</sup>Reference is here made to the law enacted on April 29, 1816, which was intended to keep British traders of Canada and of the Hudson's Bay Company from engaging in the Indian trade within the United States. The law required all foreigners going into the Indian country to have passports, which were obtainable from governors, commanding officers of the nearest frontier posts, or other authorized persons. See *Public statutes at large of the United States*, III, 332 ff. It is somewhat curious that St. Louis officials and others in the west should have led Selkirk to believe that it was beyond the competency of the St. Louis authorities to grant passports to foreigners. According to the law the territorial governor of Missouri and other officials in and around St. Louis did possess the necessary power. It is possible that his lordship was deliberately given the impression because certain western officials were suspicious of his purposes. See especially *Niles' weekly register*, XIV, 338, O'Fallon to Edwards, Feb. 19, 1818.

of the North West Company.<sup>12</sup> But besides the obstacles which I have already mentioned, I understand there is a peculiar difficulty on the subject of cattle, arising from a clause in an Act of Congress, by which all citizens are debarred from pasturing or driving their cattle on any lands belonging to Indians.<sup>13</sup> It is evident however from the tenor of the enactment, that the purpose of this regulation was to obviate the quarrels, which had frequently arisen from the trespasses of the back settlers:—a danger which is not to be apprehended from the mere passage of a few cattle, on their way to a foreign country.

As my Settlement on Red River has been formed entirely on the principles of agricultural improvement, & for the establishment of a civilized population,<sup>14</sup> it cannot be likely to excite any jealousy on the part of the American Government. With respect to the Hudson's Bay Company, from whom I derive my title to these lands, & in whose concerns I am materially interested, I beg leave to observe, that they have always acted on very different principles from the Canadian merchants, who have engaged in the Fur Trade. They are not mere traders; but as they also hold a valuable grant of lands, their conduct as merchants is naturally influenced by their interest as proprietors. The permanent interest they have in the country, as well as the responsibility of their situation as a chartered body, must always restrain them from the exceptionable proceedings, to which ordinary traders may be tempted by the prospect of immediate gain.<sup>15</sup> The Hudson's Bay Company have always been disposed to promote the progress of the Indians in the arts of civilized life; & have exerted themselves to maintain peace among them. They have never had any intercourse with the tribes within the United States; & it is not their policy to extend their trade beyond the Territory which legally belongs to them. The limits which their charter assigns are sufficiently ample; & if the Company be allowed to enjoy their rights in peace within these limits, they will not be disposed to

<sup>12</sup>Selkirk had established the Red river settlement in the face of bitter opposition from the North West Company. The company was convinced that the settlement was designed to ruin it. "Its origin was bottomed upon the ostensible pretext of aiding the Hudson's Bay Company in their trade, but with the real intention of directly ruining that of their rivals, the Northwest Company. . . ." (Public Archives of Canada, *Colonial office records, Series Q*, vol. 133, p. 227: William M'Gillivray to Major Loring, Nov. 28, 1815). In 1815 and 1816 the North West Company waged open "war" upon the settlement.

<sup>13</sup>The law referred to here was enacted March 30, 1802. See *Public statutes at large of the United States*, II, 141.

<sup>14</sup>For similar statements of purpose, see especially *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's settlement upon the Red river, in North America* (London, 1817), vii; and the following which are in the Public Archives of Canada: *Colonial Office records, Series Q*, vol. 133, pp. 59 ff., "Statement" in enclosure of Berens to Bathurst, Feb. 18, 1815; *Selkirk papers*, 1942 ff., Selkirk to Berens, Nov. 18, 1815; *ibid.*, 2283, Selkirk to the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, May 23, 1816.

<sup>15</sup>The North West Company was not a chartered organization.

trespass on those of others. As soon therefore, as the boundaries of the British & American dominions in that quarter shall be ascertained,<sup>16</sup> I do not apprehend that any cause of collision can remain, between the Hudson's Bay Company, & the Traders who may be authorized by your Government to carry on the Fur Trade within the United States.

I have to request that you will lay this subject before the President of the United States; & if the suggestions, that I have thrown out, meet his approbation, I beg that you will take such steps as you deem most suitable for carrying them into effect.<sup>17</sup>

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient & very humble Servant

Selkirk

Honorable John Quincy Adams,  
Secretary of State,  
Washington, D.C.

<sup>16</sup>The international boundary west of the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky mountains was fixed along the forty-ninth parallel by article 2 of the treaty of 1818. See *Treaties, conventions . . . between the United States of America and other powers, 1776-1909* (61 congress, 2 session, *Senate documents*, no. 357, serial 5646), 1, 632.

<sup>17</sup>On the original document there is a pencil notation to the effect that the letter was answered by the state department; that Selkirk was informed that the laws he referred to were "designed for very special purposes"; and that such trade as described in the letter would not be affected by the laws. This pencil notation is not in the handwriting of Adams; it may have been written by a secretary. At any rate, the laws Selkirk discusses in the letter never interfered with the Red river trade.

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#### BRITISH COLUMBIA'S APPEAL TO SIR WILFRID LAURIER FOR BETTER TERMS

AT a time when much is being said and written about the problem of readjusting federal-provincial relations, it is interesting and instructive to examine the historical background of similar agitations of other years. All provinces have complained of their disabilities, and all have at one time or another asked for "better terms". In 1887, five of the then seven provinces united in conference at Quebec in demanding increased federal subsidies; twenty years later the revisionary act of 1907 provided for substantially the same increases as were requested by the Quebec meeting. The two geographic extremities of the dominion, Prince Edward Island and British Columbia, alone did not attend the conference of 1887. It is with the latter and its "isolationist" campaign for better terms that the document below deals.



For British Columbia, so far as official government policy was concerned, there was no "better-terms" issue in 1887. While the province did ask for special assistance for railway development in that year, the matter seems to have been quickly dropped;<sup>1</sup> and the Hon. John Robson, who was in the east at the time the other provinces met, did not attend the Quebec conference—partly because of the isolationist spirit of the province, but in a large measure because of the reluctance of his government to take any action which might jeopardize the good relations existing since the passage of the Settlement Act of 1883.<sup>2</sup>

It was not until the advent of the Laurier administration in 1896 that the British Columbian government became seriously concerned with the fiscal relations with the dominion, and then it was to question the fairness of the federal expenditures allotted the Pacific province. As a matter of fact, objections to British Columbia's treatment in this respect first came in the federal house. However, on April 14, 1897, the Hon. J. H. Turner, the last of the provincial premiers representing the group which had negotiated the Settlement Act, announced his intention of seeking special railway subsidies from the federal government. He based his request on the excess of the province's per capita contribution to the dominion treasury over that of other provinces and over federal expenditures in the province.<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that nothing was said about obtaining anything beyond special subsidies to aid in railway construction; a general revision of fiscal relations was not suggested. It was not until James Dunsmuir assumed office in 1900 that the railway programme received determined attention, but from then, until his resignation in November, 1902, when he was succeeded by his colleague, Colonel E. G. Prior, much of Dunsmuir's energy was directed to this development programme, which called for the construction of three routes throughout the province, with federal assistance. Dunsmuir's letter of October 9, 1900, to Sir Wilfrid Laurier is very much to the point. He wrote: "During the Session of 1898, the policy of the Government of this Province, as announced in the House, was based on views to which, in the main, it still adheres. . . . The then Premier advocated proceeding towards railway development, having in view joint action based on some determined ratio of assistance, and announced a policy of co-operation

<sup>1</sup>*British Columbia sessional papers*, 1887, 369.

<sup>2</sup>This act embodied the agreement which closed the negotiations referring to the non-fulfilment of the original railway clauses of the Union Act.

<sup>3</sup>See *Victoria Daily colonist*, April 15, 1897, 6-7.

as between the two Governments. You are familiar with the political events which, since that time, interrupted the proposed negotiations."<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that Dunsmuir definitely dissociated these requests from any demand for better terms, for he stressed in the same letter the danger of "a dissatisfaction yearly more and more finding expression, and one that will eventually develop into an emphatic demand for better terms" unless some redress were granted.

In January, 1901, a delegation headed by the provincial premier visited Ottawa, but no understanding was reached. When on November 12, 1902, Dunsmuir was succeeded by Prior as premier, the situation, so far as hitherto available records show, was entirely unaltered. Colonel Prior proceeded to arrange a conference following his assumption of office, and went to Ottawa in January, 1903, to demand better terms, not to request assistance for the railway programme. Since the attempt to obtain special grants for railway development was replaced by an unequivocal request for constitutional revision, it seems to indicate that there was a change in British Columbia's policy between January, 1901, and 1903.

The following hitherto unpublished letter of January 7, 1902, from the "Premier's letter books" on file in the premier's office, Victoria, throws some light upon the question, and has an interest from several points of view. In the first place, it definitely shows that the initiative in arranging the conference of 1903 was taken by Dunsmuir and not Prior; and again, the facts which led Dunsmuir to broaden his demand to one for better terms are definitely set forth. Arguments similar to those used in the letter may, of course, be found scattered elsewhere in the provincial records. Naturally, some of them were used previously in support of the requests for railway grants, and others were used many times in the later negotiations between Ottawa and Victoria. Probably nowhere else, however, are these arguments so compactly stated. More significant, perhaps, is the fact that they are here used for the first time on behalf of better terms. Dunsmuir can lay no claim to having originated the arguments, but the letter does definitely establish him as the author of the better-terms negotiations. How complete was his conversion to the cause of constitutional revision is again illustrated by the following passage from a letter dated February 10, 1902, in answer to Laurier's reply to the communication of January 7; it is worth noting that the

<sup>4</sup>*British Columbia sessional papers*, 1901, 549: Dunsmuir to Laurier, Oct. 9, 1900.

provincial premier was prepared to abandon the traditional policy of isolation in order to gain his new objective: "The proposal involved in my letter of the 17th ultimo [it was the 7th] was for a convention and not merely a conference, where our claims could be presented pro forma and judicially considered and decided upon—a convention in which, if necessary, other provinces would be officially represented."<sup>5</sup>

Up to the present the letter of January 7, 1902, has escaped publication, despite the voluminous nature of reports of federal-provincial relations in the British Columbian records. Sincere thanks are due to the Hon. T. D. Pattullo, premier of British Columbia, and to Dr. Kaye Lamb, provincial archivist, for making possible the examination of the letter books and the publication of this letter. The writer also wishes to acknowledge a helpful comment from Professor J. A. Maxwell of Clark University who has written extensively on the financial relations of the dominion and the provinces.

HAROLD P. JOHNS

Rt.-Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier,  
Prime Minister,  
Ottawa.

7 Jan: 1902.

Dear Sir Wilfrid,

While in Ottawa last winter the members of the Delegation from the Government here, personally and by letters and statements submitted, presented with all earnestness and to the best of their ability the arguments in favour of a re-adjustment of the financial arrangements between the Province of British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada; and I must confess to a feeling of disappointment in not having had a definite reply as to whether these representations, in whole or in part, had received, or would still receive, the consideration of your Government.

As you are aware our representations were made with fairness and frankness and without respect to party or political considerations—simply on the grounds of what appeared to us as matters of right and mutual advantage. Our arguments in favour of increased subsidies were, indeed, based to a large extent on the greatly augmented revenues which would flow to the Dominion Treasury as a consequence; and we not unreasonably hoped that our proposals, backed up as they were by the strongest arguments possible, would not only not excite opposition in other parts of Canada, but would receive the endorsement of all fair-minded, progressive and far-seeing citizens of the Dominion.

<sup>5</sup>Premier's office, Victoria, *Premier's letter book, 1900-1903*: Dunsmuir to Laurier, Feb. 10, 1902.

I am aware that it has been said that the Delegation was unreasonable in the number and magnitude of the demands then made. That impression no doubt arose from the fact that many of them never had been previously catalogued in one document, and the considerations involved had never before been brought to the attention of the public; but the justness of the claims and the facts upon which they are based have so far not in any way been controverted.

It has also been held that the matters in question should have been taken up with your Government through the representatives of the Province in the Dominion Houses of Parliament. From the standpoint of policy it might have been wiser to have adopted such a course; and had I thought for a moment that the rights of the Province would have been jeopardized by lack of co-operation on the part of its representatives in consequence of their advice and assistance not having been enlisted, I, certainly, and I feel quite sure of my colleagues, would have been only too glad to have availed ourselves of such advice and assistance. It did not occur to me, however, that negotiations affecting the business relations of the two Governments should be carried on through other than the ordinary channels for conducting such negotiations in the past; and I certainly then looked, and do still look, for the most cordial support of those gentlemen, the interests of whose constituents are deeply affected by the negotiations in question, in bringing about a satisfactory settlement.

Fully impressed with the justness of our cause, it is not our intention to relinquish its advocacy or depart from the course we consider in equity to be our right and duty to pursue, and I trust that no Government that may succeed the present will do less.

You will understand that the representations we made in our Memorial to your Government were, generally, in the direction of some more definite understanding—some specific recognition of our moral and political rights in the form of increased and corresponding returns for the revenues from this Province to the Dominion. Our Memorial indicated the lines, and the reasons therefor, which in our opinion should form the basis of such suitable recognition. We made no hard and fast demands. We asked only for a convention and a policy of co-operation based on the mutual interests. In this respect, therefore, while our objects and procedure may have been mis-represented in some quarters we trust that they have not been misunderstood by you or by your Government. Nothing that has been said or written can be construed, I hope, into an attempt to dictate to, to coerce, or to threaten the authorities at Ottawa. Our whole aim has been to work amicably and in perfect understanding with them, upon, as I have stated, certain lines that might, after the fullest discussion, be mutually agreed upon. This has been our position

particularly in regard to railways, the building of which in this Province involves a great deal that is common to the interests of both Governments and which, in my opinion, should be prosecuted on a uniform and co-operative basis.

I wish to reiterate here what I have stated in my letter to you in October, 1900, and to which I again earnestly direct your attention. Our policy submitted at the Session of 1901 was based on the reasonable hopes we entertained of assistance from your Government. It was outlined in the preamble of the Act then passed providing for the construction of certain railways. Not having, however, up to that time heard from your Minister of Railways as to the proposals we made while at Ottawa (and in reply to telegrams subsequently urging co-operation), we were of necessity obliged to define our own position in regard to those lines of railways and to stipulate the conditions upon which we would be willing to assist in building them; but at the same time we were willing to modify these as far as possible consistent with sound public policy in meeting the views of your Government in respect to each one of those matters, or in respect to other matters that you might wish to include in a general policy of railway building. That is the position that we still maintain.<sup>6</sup>

I now come to another matter of still greater importance to British Columbia in its governmental capacity. While in Ottawa last winter I had not fully thought out all the matters affecting the relations of the Province and the Dominion; but it occurred [*sic*] to me and I mentioned it in conversation that the claims of the province should be commuted for a yearly sum in addition to the present subsidies received. I did not perhaps state the exact grounds, apart from the excess of revenue paid to the Dominion over and above the appropriations made in return—which is yearly very large and yearly growing larger, upon which such a proposal should be based. You, however, have only to consider the peculiar circumstances and conditions of this Province as compared with other provinces, to fully appreciate our position.

At the time of Confederation, in 1867, the Provinces then included, which are comparatively level and compact, were in the main municipalized, their roads and bridges and other public works of a provincial character, were to a large extent completed; and the public debts of all were assumed by the Dominion, a start being made with a clear sheet and greatly reduced responsibilities. In the Province of British Columbia at the time of Confederation, 1871, considering the sparseness of population and the smallness of the probable revenue, the arrangement

<sup>6</sup>Three paragraphs are here omitted. They deal only with a specific point at issue between the two governments at the time and have no bearing on the general statement of federal-provincial relations contained herein.

made under the Terms of Union was thought to be a very liberal one and the delegates from British Columbia had every reason to believe they had made a very good bargain for the Province and were justly entitled to the congratulations they received; and, therefore, at a period when development was so limited and so little was known about the possible resources of the country, it is not to be wondered at if they did not secure greater concessions or see just how under wholly new conditions the arrangements they entered into would finally work out from a book-keeping point of view. While, however, a contract presumably legally and constitutionally binding for all time to come, was entered into, it is not to be maintained that such a contract should continue forever without modification, if it can be proved beyond question that the Terms are such as to work a perpetual hardship to one of the contracting parties. That it does do so, I shall proceed to show.

The Government of British Columbia is working under conditions absolutely unique in Canada, and must for all time to come remain at a disadvantage as compared with the Governments of other Provinces—I mean in respect to equilibrium of revenue and expenditure. Our Province is roundly speaking 800 miles long by 500 miles wide. It is more or less mountainous throughout its whole extent, with valleys and habitable ground at long intervals only. Its population, while individually more potential, can never by reason of physical environments be as large as other provinces in proportion to area. The expense of governing per head of population must for all time to come necessarily be many times greater. It entered Confederation with roads, bridges, wharves, railways, schools, etc., all practically unbuilt and to be provided for in the future. Owing to the physical conditions the Government had to assume all the expenses of these undertakings, which in the main elsewhere is borne by municipalities. With few exceptions, there are no municipalities outside of incorporated towns. Every road or railway costs three or four times per mile what it does in other parts of Canada. The distances between many of the settlements are very great; Hence the mileage to build and maintain is often enormous. The schools, the roads and trails, bridges, public wharves and public buildings, hospitals, charities, and even doctors in many places have to be provided for by the Province. The cost of administering public justice throughout this vast extent of country is also for similar reasons very great and many times what it is in the East.

While all this is true, the sources of revenue provided for under the constitution are precisely the same as in the East. The increase of population under such circumstances while it means increase of revenue, also means proportionate increase of expenditure to supply the varied and expanding needs in the way of schools, the administration of justice,

the building of roads and bridges, railways, etc. etc. As a consequence the balance between revenues and expenditure under present conditions is difficult to reach and maintain.

The potential sources of revenue belong to the Dominion. We have proved to you that we pay three times the average contribution of Canada to the Dominion, and get less than half back. If the people of British Columbia were able to retain all they contribute in taxes to Provincial and Dominion Governments, they could support every public utility of the province, both Provincial and Dominion, build their own railways, and still have a surplus each year to their credit.

What we now ask the Dominion Government to do is without further delay, to take these matters seriously into consideration and arrange for a convention between the Province and the Dominion for the purpose of reviewing the whole facts of the case, and arriving at better terms. Our object is to reach a solution as the result of fair, open and impartial investigation, and by no argument other than is just and equitable to appeal for a decision.

The Dominion of Canada has on the Pacific Coast a province full of resources and illimitable wealth, with a vigorous and enterprising population—a domain, which, if fully developed will prove of inestimable advantage in making the name of Canada great, and in fulfilling a destiny which Britains [*sic*] everywhere, and more especially Canadians, would rejoice to see accomplished. However, I have endeavoured clearly to show that under the present terms governing the relations between the Province and the Dominion, the cost of internal development to the former is out of all proportion to the revenue to the Provincial Treasury arising from resources however rich; and that, on the other hand, the revenue which accrues to the Dominion as a consequence of our prosperity however great presents an enormous disparity in respect to the appropriations we receive in return; and one which in its effect must forever impose unnecessary and unjust burdens on our people and prevent that high limit [of] development that would otherwise be possible.

As you are well aware what we ask is not new in the history of Canada since 1867, and if the Provinces which originally framed the Terms of Confederation as generally applicable to all its parts, saw in the mistakes made or injustices committed in the first place a sufficient reason for readjustment in more than one instance, they cannot now reasonably object to a convention on grounds for which they originally furnished the precedent.

Believe me to be,  
Very sincerely yours,  
JAMES DUNSMUIR,  
*Premier.*



## REVIEW ARTICLE

### MORE BOOKS ON THE CANADIAN FAR NORTH<sup>1</sup>

DURING the past eighteen months the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has given special notice to over a score of books on the Canadian north (see June, 1935, 196-200; December, 1935, 438-442; June, 1936, 194-8), and still the number of the publications on this theme shows little sign of declining. The aeroplane has hastened exploration and economic development by governmental and private enterprise. Increasing interest in the north has provided a market for books of an autobiographical character, and those who participated in the first opening up of the Klondike and the Arctic in the nineties have reached the age of reminiscence. The subject has, however, much more than a romantic interest. The Canadian Arctic is gradually taking a large place in the economic life of the dominion, and the books reviewed in this article are striking evidence to this effect.

The North West Territories and Yukon branch of the department of the interior has placed students of the Canadian north under a heavy obligation for its support of exploration and for its publication of information in convenient form. The volume *North West Territories, 1930*, includes a general survey with a description of the geographic characteristics, an historical sketch, and notes on inhabitants, wild life, and transportation, followed by a more detailed description of each of three districts—Mackenzie, Keewatin, and Franklin. Of special interest for the Mackenzie district are the descriptions of mining development and of conservation measures with reference to the muskox, wood-buffalo, and reindeer, and for the other areas the account of various investigations. Although out of date, the volume is a useful guide and compendium. More detailed information on portions of these vast areas is available in *Canada's Eastern Arctic* (reviewed, June, 1935) and in the companion volume on Canada's western Arctic, in which detailed reports are given of Major Burwash's expeditions: in 1925-6, from Aklavik to Cambridge bay, King William land, Boothia peninsula, returning to King William land, to Repulse bay, Chesterfield, and by Hudson strait to the St. Lawrence; in 1928-9 from Aklavik to Gjoa haven, King William land, to Oscar bay and return, to Cape Adelaide and return, to Cambridge bay, and to Winnipeg by air; and in 1930 from Fort Norman to Hunter bay, the mouth of the Coppermine, King William land and return by aeroplane. Efforts were made, particularly in 1930, to obtain further information on the Franklin expedition, and numerous relics were found. Appendices include notes on labour, geology, topography, plant life, transportation, tides, ocean currents, ice conditions, and a document "purporting to indicate the location of the grave of Sir John Franklin and the possible disposition of important papers of the expedition". References are made throughout the report to mineral investigations in Bathurst inlet and Coppermine areas, to the fur-trade, the Eskimos, the work of the Hudson's Bay Company in the *Fort James*, and the tractor<sup>2</sup> expedition from Wager inlet to Backs river

<sup>1</sup>See bibliography, p. 437.

<sup>2</sup>W. E. Brown, "Man and machine against the Arctic" (*Beaver*, Sept., 1936, 26-30).

(1928-9), and the MacAlpine expedition. In short, the volume is a mine of information and a tribute to the long years of effective work of Major Burwash, which culminated in the boom period of the twenties in the western Arctic. Even more detailed is the volume on southern Baffin island, although it is chiefly concerned with the history of the exploration carried out by anthropologists, ornithologists, geologists, missionaries, doctors, and mounted police, with generous extracts from numerous journals. Publication, as an appendix, of the translation by M. B. A. Anderson of the crossing of southern Baffin island to Foxe basin by B. A. Hantzsch in 1910 makes available a record of one of the most courageous and determined expeditions ever carried out in the history of Canadian exploration, not excepting Mackenzie's journey to the Pacific. It is unfortunate that greater attention is not given to the resources of the region and particularly to the reindeer experiment of the Hudson's Bay Company. All these volumes have interesting photographs and maps.

The reports of the North West Mounted Police, published in the dominion *Sessional papers*, contain a record of the persistent work of the police in the exploration and occupation of northern Canada but unfortunately they are not conveniently accessible. Students of the expansion of the Canadian north will, therefore, be grateful to the author of *Policing the Arctic*, the son of a distinguished member of the force, Sir Sam Steele, whose autobiography is a very important contribution, particularly on the rôle of the police in the Klondike. The volume is an enormous compilation of material, arranged in chronological order, on the work of the police, chiefly in the region north of fifty-five. Almost a third of the pages is concerned with the Yukon and the remainder with extension to the Mackenzie, the western Arctic, Hudson bay, and the eastern Arctic. Generous extracts are made from the files of police reports. Other sources have been consulted, as the bibliography suggests, but by no means exhaustively. The limitations of a strictly chronological treatment are enhanced by an unfortunate use of subheadings which tend to make the account disconnected. The difficulties are overcome in part by a map, and an excellent index, and the whole is improved by photographs. The material is concerned to a very large extent with murders, but detailed information is available on a wide range of activities including exploration, the handling of mail, fighting disease, and the general work of administration. The state follows trade, and light is thrown on the activities of those who preceded the police on the frontier of northern expansion; but the chief interest of the volume is in the extension of organization. For many the book is marred by traces of anti-Americanism and touches of flamboyant imperialism. No student of transportation, anthropology, trade, or of any phase of northern expansion, however, can afford to neglect it.

The volume by Major Armstrong is a useful supplement to that of Major Steele. As a representative of London capital in the Yukon Goldfields Company Ltd. he went from San Francisco to St. Michael's on the *St. Paul*, and up the Yukon to Dawson on the *Leah*.<sup>3</sup> With strong financial backing, he secured control of No. 4 below Discovery in 1898 and of hill

<sup>3</sup>Two other accounts of the same trip are J. Lynch, *Three years in the Klondike* (London, 1904), and M. E. Hitchcock, *Two women in the Klondike* (New York, 1899).

claims on Cheechako hill in 1899. (Lynch worked an adjoining claim.) Later he was concerned with mining property on Roderick creek, a tributary of the Fraser river. In 1905-6 he went up the MacMillan river on the *Prospector*, the first steamboat to penetrate the more remote tributaries of the Pelly and wintered at a point now called Armstrong Landing and near Mount Armstrong. Several descriptions of Yukon "characters" and of life in the Yukon during the gold-rush period, supplemented by numerous valuable photographs and extracts from the author's diary, enhance the value of the book. The section on transportation facilities is one of the more valuable. The author's memory is not infallible but he has produced a book with a wide range of material. There is an index and end-maps.

By far the most important book illustrating that trade rather than the state has led the way in the opening up of the western Arctic which has appeared over a long period, is that of Captain Bodfish. MacInnes's *Klengenbergs of the Arctic* (London, 1932, reviewed C.H.R., XVI, 71), covers similar ground, but for the first time we have an accurate account based on log-books, which the reviewer hopes will find their way to the Canadian Archives, of the expansion of whaling to Herschel island and the Beaufort sea. The author left New Bedford in 1880 and engaged in whaling in the Bering sea during the summer and in the South seas during the winter, under the auspices of the Pacific Whaling Company until 1888. In 1889 the whalers met a trader from the mouth of the Mackenzie river who reported open water, whereupon seven steamers proceeded to Herschel island. Immediately they saw the necessity of wintering in the Arctic to take advantage of the whole of the short season, and in 1890 they returned to stay during the winter of 1890-1 and 1891-2, returning in 1892. Seven ships wintered in 1893-4 and fifteen in 1894-5. Captain Bodfish came out in 1896 and returned in 1897, wintering in Langdon bay in that year and at Bailey island in 1898-9. In 1899 he came out with the biggest cargo of whalebone ever landed at San Francisco. He went in again in 1900, wintering at Bailey island and returning in 1901. He went in and returned each year in 1902 and in 1903. In 1904 he joined William Lewis and Son and went into Lady Franklin bay. Finally he joined the firm of H. Liebes and Company in 1909 and went into Herschel island for the last time in 1910. With the displacement of bone by light spring steel in the making of corsets, prices fell and whaling was no longer profitable. As early as 1900-1 trapping and trading in white fox was a part of the winter's activities. Trade with the Eskimo for furs and for artefacts for museums, chiefly the Museum of Natural History at Cleveland, became more remunerative and a trader remained at Franklin bay in 1904. In 1910 Captain Bodfish paid duties on trade goods to the police at Herschel island. "After we had traded some phonographs to the natives, there was a steady demand for records and needles and the market for coal oil, matches and various foodstuffs continued to increase as time passed." Notes and cash found their way into Eskimo hands and accelerated trade. Enormous quantities of venison were consumed by the crews, and apparently for the first time the Eskimo began to kill off the muskox. The log refers to visits of Bishop Stringer to Herschel island

on November 10, 1893, and in April, 1894, with the texts of two of his sermons. John Firth and the Rev. Mr. Whittaker came from Fort MacPherson on November 10, 1895. Mr. Whittaker's little boy died at Herschel island on August 24, 1902. There are references to the visit of Professor Andrew Jackson Stone at Bailey island in 1899 and later to Anderson, Leffingwell, and Stefannson. Unfortunately the book is not divided into chapters, has no map, and no index. There are valuable photographs. It is an extremely important document in the economic history of the Arctic and deserves much careful study by social scientists and natural scientists. Would that someone would do a similar volume on whaling in the eastern Arctic but for that we must look to Dundee.

Mr. Allen has given an interesting account of a trip from Seattle following the coast of British Columbia and Alaska to Dutch harbour and thence to Kamchatka, Japan, and the Hawaiian islands to San Francisco. He was directly concerned with the salmon-fishery, and the volume is an instructive and readable introduction to the discussion of the conflict of jurisdictions between Canada, Alaska, Russia, and Japan in the fishing industry. It has numerous maps, valuable photographs, a bibliography, and an index.

Mr. Stead's book is devoted in part (pp. 109-217) to an adventure concerned with the development of the fishing resources of Lake Athabaska for the Chicago market in 1929. Although the enterprise was apparently grossly mismanaged, it did provide Mr. Stead with an excellent opportunity of describing the details of the fishery, and his description of the numerous individuals concerned is one of the best available for an appreciation of northern characters. Failure of the fishing venture was followed by prospecting in Lake Athabaska, by a return to Calgary, and a hunting trip in the foothills. Profits from speculation in a Turner valley oil well provided funds for his next venture in British Honduras. There are photographs but no index, and several minor errors.

The work of the Canadian Arctic expedition has been supplemented in an extremely useful fashion on the anthropological side by that of the Fifth Thule expedition undertaken from Greenland and supported by Denmark. The highly entertaining volume by Peter Freuchen throws further light on its activities. The descriptions of Eskimo life in Greenland are particularly valuable and the smells are included. Unfortunately dates are not noted with sufficient frequency. Freuchen went up the Foxe channel to Danish island and to Repulse bay (with a side trip to Wager inlet) for Christmas (1921), and then north to Nyboe bay on the west coast of Cockburn land and return. As a result of a frozen foot he was forced to go to Chesterfield inlet (1923) but returned from there to spend Christmas (1924), at Danish island and to complete the journey with an extremely difficult trip across Baffin land to Pond's inlet. In enlivening his accounts he sometimes draws a long bow, as the following description of Christmas night at Repulse bay will suggest:

It turned out to be anything but a peaceful Christmas. After dinner Cleveland snored so stentoriously that even his girl woke up and went to bed. Finally we all turned in. I slept on the floor in the dining-room with the other guests. During the night the big host had to get up a number of times, and on one of his

trips upset a box in the kitchen where he kept two live lemmings. In their search for shelter and warmth they discovered what they were looking for in my beard. I woke from a dream of two wolves tearing at my throat, grabbed the innocent little animals and hurled them from me. They hit Dr. Birket-Smith, who jumped and started to swear. I began a hunt for the mice, but Cleveland heard me and ran out to save his pets. He was wearing a long nightshirt and stumbled about the room in a daze. Suddenly he was electrified by the sight of Captain Berthie. Berthie had served in the war and had a glass eye as his reward. He had removed it for the night. Cleveland, sighting the one-eyed man, shrieked and was thrown into a spasm of horrors. He thought he had injured the man himself during his drunkenness. With one leap he landed in his bed, smack on top of Fatty, who yelled bloody murder. On examination later it was discovered that a number of her ribs were broken.

His references to Captain Berthie (pp. 386-8) can scarcely be described as accurate and much the same might be said of other incidents in the book, but it is amusing and cannot be neglected by any student of the social sciences who is interested in the Canadian Arctic, particularly as a contrast between the attitude of Denmark toward Greenland and of Canada toward the Arctic. Denmark has made significant contributions to the knowledge and development of the Canadian Arctic, to mention only the work of Rasmussen and his associates and of the Porsild brothers in connection with the reindeer experiment. There are numerous photographic illustrations and maps.

Mr. Freuchen's second book is a valuable supplement and is extremely interesting in its description of the nature of the impact of European culture on the Eskimo as seen by one who was in a position to obtain intimate and detailed information as a trader and as the husband of an Eskimo wife.

The chief interest of Mrs. Lindbergh's volume is in the actual flight rather than in her inadequate but very interesting and well-written account. With the use of radio, and of facilities for establishing gasoline caches, it was possible for a skilled aviator and an amateur radio operator to follow the shortest great circle route from New York to the orient with pleasure and with little risk. The volume is supplied with excellent small maps.

The great importance of recent scientific advances in Arctic exploration and development has been amply demonstrated by Russia in work along the northern coast of Asia. In 1933 the *Chelyuskin* with numerous adventurers left Leningrad and proceeded along the north-east passage to near Bering strait, where she was caught in a pressure ridge in the Arctic ice and lost on February 13, 1934. Over half the volume is concerned with the organization of rescue work carried out by planes and radio, and the saving of a hundred and four people. One is reminded forcibly of the loss of the *Karluk* under similar conditions before the era of planes and radio, and of the work of Captain Bartlett in rescuing those who accepted his leadership by bringing them to Wrangel island, in proceeding across the difficult ice-stretch to the mainland—a stretch which cost the lives of Crawford and others on the Wrangel island expedition<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>V. Stefansson, *The adventure of Wrangel island* (New York, 1925).

—and in bringing relief from Nome.<sup>5</sup> The achievement of Schmidt, the leader of the Russian expedition, offers striking contrasts with that of Bartlett. The Canadian expedition had the advantage of skill and long experience with ice conditions, the Russians of modern scientific achievement. The volume is a mine of information on the expedition, but the account, written by several members, becomes repetitious. The unity of support from the government, the organization of the expedition, and the writing of the book are suggestive of the possibilities and limitations in the contributions of communism to scientific work. To the present reviewer the most terrifying feature of the expedition was the organization of the people on an Arctic ice floe for the purpose of indoctrinating dialectical materialism. There are numerous photographs and maps but no index.

To appreciate thoroughly the character of Captain Bartlett's training in the handling of ice, his own volumes (reviewed June, 1935), are of less value than that written by Captain Kean. Indeed, the latter's book is fundamental. It is an autobiographical account of a sealer who succeeded, during the course of a long life (he was born in 1855) in charge of sealing vessels, in bringing to St. John's over one million seals. There have been numerous volumes, historical, descriptive and biographical, of Newfoundland, but no other, as far as I am aware, depicting the life of an individual who was born the son of a fisherman and became a successful sealing captain, merchant, and politician. His intimate concern with the economic life of Newfoundland enables him to write with interest on various phases of economic development, particularly on sealing and fishing, political activities, the effect of the bank crash of the nineties, the Coaker fishing regulations, the tragedy of 1914 when seventy-three sealers were lost, and the activities of the recent commission. It is a poorly-written book; there are difficulties in narrative, duplication, and inadequate detail, but it is the author's book, and even its deficiencies in technique emphasize the fact that it is a rare and vital document for anyone interested in Newfoundland.

Captain Barbour's volume is a valuable supplement to that of Captain Kean in securing an understanding of Newfoundland. On November 7, 1929, the *Neptune II* left Newtown with cod, oil, and other products for St. John's. It arrived on the following day and left for its return trip on November 29 with ten men and one woman. They were blown out to sea and after constant struggles to return, decided, on December 30, to try for the British Isles. They picked up a lighthouse on January 13 which was thought to be in the English channel but was near Oban in Scotland. They were finally rescued by the lighthouse steamer *Hesperus*. The book is an exciting account of a voyage in a three-masted schooner across the Atlantic by men accustomed only to coast work with merely a knowledge of a log and compass. There are several illustrations.

H. A. INNIS

<sup>5</sup>*The last voyage of the Karluk* (Toronto, 1916).

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Cours d'histoire du Canada.* Par THOMAS CHAPAIS. Tome V: 1841-1847; tome VI: 1847-1851; tome VII: 1851-1861; tome VIII: 1861-1867. Quebec: Librairie Garneau. 1932-4. Pp. ix, 316; 363; 362; viii, 331.

THESE last four volumes of Professor Chapais continue his story of the evolution of French Canada under British rule from the Act of Union, where he had originally intended to stop, down to confederation. His leading theme is the winning by the French of the right of self-government, and he considers 1867 to mark the point at which this right was finally and fully recognized. "Nous croyons avoir le droit de proclamer la constitution de 1867 comme le couronnement d'un siècle de luttes pour la conquête du *self-government* par le Canada français." He makes very clear that his theme is a narrowly political one. In the preface to volume VIII he tells us that it is essentially the political history of the French-Canadian people during the century from the 1760's to the 1860's which he has tried to trace, the political evolution of the French-Canadian nationality. And it is to this theme as he understands it that he confines himself strictly.

There is, therefore, nothing here about the growth of French-Canadian social, economic, or cultural institutions, nothing about the part played by education and organized religion in the building up of the characteristic features of French-Canadian nationality, nothing even about the part played by the church in the politics of the period. The expansion of the French race southward into New Brunswick and the United States and westward to the prairies, with all the effects of this upon the problem of "survivance", is barely mentioned. The author's attention is concentrated upon the parliamentary struggles of the day and he concerns himself solely with political self-government. Our French fellow-citizens in Quebec to-day seem to be asking themselves fairly insistently what is the meaning of that self-government in an economy which is dominated by English-Canadian and American great capitalists. They are acutely aware that the possession of self-government in Quebec is not always a sufficient consolation for the inability of French minorities in other parts of Canada to maintain what they consider their rights. Professor Chapais is conscious of these wider problems, as occasional remarks in his lectures show, but he does not see fit to investigate them. It is the old-style political history that he has given us.

It is the old-style history in another sense also. As is natural in one confining himself to purely political parliamentary history, Professor Chapais's point of view is the orthodox Whig one which has found expression in our standard English-Canadian histories. His heroes are Lafontaine and Baldwin and Elgin. The heroic age of Canadian parliamentarism, he tells us, came to an end in 1851 with the retirement of Baldwin and Lafontaine. Two generations of English-Canadian historians have now given us the conventional Whig interpretation of colonial liberties slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent. Professor Chapais's emphasis is upon the way in which the French

Canadians, by maintaining their racial solidarity under their great leaders, Lafontaine, Morin, and Cartier, won these Whig liberties for themselves. Essentially what he gives us is the well-known responsible-government story.

The English reader of these pages is struck at once by their resemblance to Dent's *The last forty years* (Toronto, 1881). The plan and scope of Professor Chapais's work is almost exactly the same as that of Dent. It is a chronological narrative, taking up in turn each annual session of the legislature, telling the main events of the session and the main acts passed, explaining any new combinations of politicians which occurred, and digressing from time to time into longer accounts of the past history of such matters as clergy reserves or reciprocity. Dent wrote from the Upper-Canadian point of view and was mainly interested in Upper-Canadian politicians, with the Lower Canadians forming a sort of external background to Upper-Canadian life and activities. Professor Chapais provides the French-Canadian complement to this. One chief interest of his volumes to an English reader consists in the greater detail which he gives about the relations of the French-Canadian leaders and their group followings with one another.

It is noteworthy that the books which he quotes and to which he refers in the bibliographies at the end of each chapter are predominantly books by English-Canadian scholars. He relies greatly upon the contemporary Gérin-Lajoie for the 1840's, but beyond this his references to other writers are chiefly to the standard English authors on the period. He does not, however, seem to have used Professor Chester Martin's *Empire and commonwealth* (Oxford, 1929), Professor R. G. Trotter's *Canadian federation* (Toronto, 1924), or volume VI of the *Cambridge history of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 1930). He has made liberal use of the Lafontaine papers and some use of the Gray-Elgin correspondence in the Public Archives of Canada. He quotes at length from the French newspapers of Quebec, and this is a specially valuable part of his narrative, but he only occasionally uses any Montreal or Toronto paper.

The author writes in a smoothly flowing, readable style, and now and then he rises to a real eloquence of which our modern English-Canadian historians with their Ph.D. training have become incapable. He likes the rounded classical oratory of the nineteenth century and gives frequent and effective quotations from it. One cannot but regret somewhat his exclusive interest in parliamentary politics. There are so many other sides of French-Canadian life and civilization about which English Canadians need enlightenment—and the constitutional side of French Canada's history has already been done fairly well by English-Canadian writers—that one wishes that a French student of Professor Chapais's serenity of temper and fairness of mind would devote his attention to them.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

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*Études historiques et géographiques.* Par R. P. PACIFIQUE. Restigouche, P.Q.: Chez l'auteur. 1935. Pp. 321, 36.

SINCE the early seventeenth century the Micmac Indians of the Atlantic

provinces and Newfoundland have formed the subject-matter of a series of able treatises by successive ecclesiastics of scholarly attainments, from Biard at Port Royal, LeClercq in Gaspesia, and the Abbé Maillard in the eighteenth century, to S. T. Rand in the nineteenth. Now Father Pacifique, in the twentieth, has in this collection of studies added yet another of merit to this distinguished list. The work encompasses within its pages much material of value to the historian, the ethnologist, and the geographer, and is the result, first, of some thirty years of zealous toil as a missionary at Ste. Anne de Restigouche and other parts of the Micmac territory, and second, of a painstaking study of the language, customs, and beliefs of the Micmac, their ancient territory, and that which they at present inhabit. In addition, several incidents in the history of the gulf coast have been retold with simplicity and charm, and there are several miscellaneous studies. A special value attaches to the four studies of Cartier's voyage of 1534, which is due to the manner in which Father Pacifique has approached his problems. It has been common for students of Cartier to try to identify the features of the coast which he mentioned by reference to maps. Instead, the author has followed in person the course of Cartier's voyage. Hence these studies are based on an intimate knowledge acquired on the spot, so that, although no new documentary material has been brought to the fore, a more definite critical light has been shed on that which is already known. Hence, among many other points well taken, Father Pacifique has been able to identify the spot at which Cartier erected his cross at Gaspé.

By far the most significant of the studies, and those in which the author has made his enduring contribution to knowledge, are those of the Micmac place-nomenclature. In his annual missions to the reserves of the Micmac it has been Father Pacifique's habit to collect and analyse the names which are still known or used by them, correlating his results with those of Rand, Dr. W. F. Ganong, and other students. Thus the great merit of his study is due to the fact that he has recorded a large number of names which, except for his industry, would have been wholly lost to investigators. About nine-tenths of these names have never been recorded and published before. The young Indians do not know many of them, so that in another generation even the zeal and thorough knowledge of Father Pacifique himself would be unavailing. His intimate acquaintance with the language has enabled him to give us these twenty-five hundred names, with the meaning when it could be discovered, and the corresponding modern equivalents. The text is supplemented by five excellent maps made by Dr. W. F. Ganong. The miscellaneous studies include accounts of the well-curb which was brought from Brouage to Restigouche, the Duchess d'Aiguillon, Saint-Antoine de Longueuil, Father Jones, the Irish missionary who went to Nova Scotia in 1785, biographical notes on Acadian missionaries, and a history of Restigouche in which light is thrown on the naval battle of 1760. Students will be grateful to Father Pacifique for re-issuing these studies in their present form and thus making them accessible to a wider public.

A. G. BAILEY

*L'Evangéline de Longfellow et la suite merveilleuse d'un poème.* Par ERNEST MARTIN. Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1936. Pp. 375; with 12 photographs and a map.

*Les Exilés acadiens en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et leur établissement en Poitou.* Par ERNEST MARTIN. Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1936. Pp. 333; with 4 photographs, 2 maps, and a plan.

DESCENDING from an Acadian family removed to France and a professor of Poitiers University, who taught French literature at Dalhousie University, Mr. Ernest Martin possessed special background and knowledge to write the two works under review.

One must not be deceived by the title of his first book; it is much more than a literary thesis. Indeed it is preceded by a long historical introduction, and Longfellow's poem is carefully compared with historical sources, while there is a long appendix of documents relating to the Acadians' expulsion. Without pretending to a new interpretation of it, Professor Martin has dealt with this controversial question in a learned, impartial, and pleasing way. He has broadened the interest that has attached to Longfellow's *Evangeline* and his book belongs very largely to the Canadian historical book-shelf. There is an extensive bibliography with a nominal index.

In his second book, after a brief narrative of the expulsion, the author describes the arrival in France of groups of Acadians first from Prince Edward island and Cape Breton island and later from Nova Scotia, part of whom had been for some time prisoners in England, while others came from the American colonies. About 1,350 had drifted at different times to St. Pierre and Miquelon of whom more than half returned to France. In all, there were probably between three and four thousand Acadians on French soil by 1764.

France granted annual relief to all refugees. Later on, the government made several attempts with very little success to settle part of them in Guiana, the Falkland islands, and the West Indies. Seventy-seven families accepted lands in Belle-Ile-en-Mer, but not more than sixteen remained permanently on the island. After several plans had been canvassed, the government decided, in 1773, to settle in Poitou on the lands of the Marquis de Perusse, the Acadians under the dole. At the time, they numbered 2,566 men, women, and children. Out of this total, only eight hundred accepted the offer.

Mr. Martin has related the whole story of the experiment from the physiocratic vogue of agriculture and the condition of the French peasants to the productive value of the Poitou lands. By July, 1774, exactly 1,472 Acadians had reached the seigniory of Manthoiron selected for the settlement. The establishment proved a difficult task. After years of wandering and dole, the Acadians had developed a temper of sensitiveness and discontent. Moreover, the new surroundings could not compare with their situation in Acadia, and the experiment was meeting the usual difficulties of state management. It proved a failure: by 1775, more than 1,365 Acadians had left the settlement, only 157 remaining in Poitou, and not more than 60 by 1784. Of the returned settlers, after living at

Nantes 1,244 emigrated in 1784 to Louisiana, where three thousand Acadians had previously settled. The Poitou experiment had cost 1,072,409 livres, about 22 millions of present-day francs. There were still about one thousand Acadians in France, who were kept on relief till 1788, after which date only Acadian paupers, a very small proportion, were granted a dole, which was still paid in 1799. The allowances to Acadians from 1763 to 1799 must have cost France close to a hundred millions of present-day francs.

Professor Martin has produced a story of constant interest and accurate documentation, always placed in its sociological surroundings. Supplemented by a good bibliography, an appendix of documents, a general index, photographs, and maps, it is a most valuable contribution to the history of Acadia overseas.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

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*The Discovery of the Oregon Trail: Robert Stuart's Narratives of his Overland Trip Eastward from Astoria, in 1812-3; from the Original Manuscripts in the Collection of William Robertson Coe, Esq.; to which is added: An Account of the Tonquin's Voyage and of Events at Fort Astoria, 1811-12, and Wilson Price Hunt's Diary of his Overland Trip Westward to Astoria, in 1811-12; translated from Nouvelles annales des voyages, Paris, 1821. Edited by PHILIP ASHTON ROLLINS. New York, London: Charles Scribner Sons. 1935. Pp. cxxxvii, 391. (\$7.50)*

ROBERT STUART, who with Ramsay Crooks and five other companions, found his way from Astoria to St. Louis in 1812-3, conformed to the type of his great predecessor, Alexander Mackenzie. Brought out to Montreal by an uncle in the North West Company's employ, his talents and ambition recommended him to Astor for the great venture at the mouth of the Columbia. He and his uncle went out in the *Tonquin* and when, after the loss of that vessel and other vicissitudes, it was decided to report to New York overland, Stuart was chosen to lead the party. Ramsay Crooks and Robert McClellan, who had come overland in 1811-2, partly with Wilson Price Hunt and partly on their adventurous own, attached themselves to him. The travellers lived (and once almost starved) off the country. Stuart proved to be a modest, admirable leader, who found the South pass for the first time (the evidence here presented seems conclusive), and thereby established the Oregon trail through the mountain puzzle of Idaho and Wyoming to the valley of the North Platte. The *Missouri gazette* of 1813 enthusiastically, if inaccurately, hailed his discovery as making possible a transcontinental journey by wagon. It took a quarter of a century more to reach that stage.

Although Stuart seems to betray by very occasional "literary" passages some ambition to emulate his brother Scot Mackenzie's *Voyages*, he is, on the whole, a laconic, but detailed observer, with an excellent eye for country, Indians, fur possibilities, and *flora* and *fauna* of importance to the pioneer traveller. He is self-effacing and modest, as for instance, concerning his ordeals in passing the Cascades and the Dalles on the

Columbia and their predatory Indian guardians. The streak of sentiment in him which later found vent in religious conversion and zealous Presbyterianism at Michilimackinac and Detroit, comes out strongly only in a remarkable soliloquy (pp. 151-2) at the time when Ramsay Crooks was ill almost to death and Stuart's men wanted to leave him behind. For a relative greenhorn he handled the Indian problem well and he reveals very little trouble with his much more experienced fellow-traders and *voyageurs*. His imagination seems seldom to have troubled him on his journey any more than later on Lake Michigan when he preached temperance but sent out abundant hard liquor for trade with the Indians. For the discovery he made and the account he wrote, he deserves to rank with Hearne, Mackenzie, Lewis, and Clark.

The editor, his aides and friends, and the publishers have combined to make this volume an almost embarrassingly elaborate model of attention to editorial detail. It is comprehensive and meticulous to a quite extraordinary degree. Stuart's two narratives, which appear for the first time in English (although the so-called "travelling memoranda" were heavily drawn upon in Irving's *Astoria*), are ingeniously interwoven along with their postscripts and addenda. The 1821 French edition of narratives of the *Tonquin*, of Astoria during 1811-2, and of Hunt's westward journey in 1811-2 is translated and corrected. The whole body of narrative material is accompanied by lavish footnotes which evidence Mr. Rollins's intimate acquaintance, not only with the literature of his subject, but with every section of the routes travelled. It is possible that his remark on page cxii covers his omission of mention of such a work as G. C. Davidson's *The North West Company* (Berkeley, Cal., 1919), but on the whole he does not seem to be quite as familiar with Canadian as with American scholarship. As additional apparatus he contributes a thoroughgoing biographical note, an admirably restrained general foreword, five clear maps, a note on the Indian tribes mentioned, and a twenty-six page topical index. Some will object that the maps are clear because mountains are left out, but the reproduction of the map accompanying the French narratives doubtless explains Mr. Rollins's decision in that classic dilemma. All in all, this volume at once takes a high place among the narratives both of North American pioneer exploration and of the North American fur-trade whose operatives so thoroughly disregarded political frontiers.

J. B. BREBNER

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*The Crow Indians.* By ROBERT H. LOWIE. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1935. Pp. xxii, 350. (\$4.00)

HITHERTO a notable and unfortunate lack in anthropological literature has been that of a non-technical but authoritative monograph on a single North American tribe. There are plenty of popular accounts of "the Indians", necessarily over-generalized even when basically sound, and plenty of technical and detailed studies of particular tribes or problems, authoritative enough but buried in museum papers or scientific periodicals. This lack has now been filled by Dr. Lowie who has gathered together into a straightforward and very readable whole the results of

the prolonged fieldwork among the Crow which he began in 1907. Much of the material is already available in the *Anthropological papers* of the American Museum of Natural History, some of it in the same author's *Primitive society* (New York, 1921). Anthropologists outside the United States have always been rather critical of the way in which American scholars published their material and it is fortunate, therefore, that the first attempt at an Indian monograph comparable to those of Spencer and Gillen for an Australian tribe, Fortune for a Melanesian, and Junod, Smith and Dale, *etc.*, for African societies should be by a writer whose basic methodological point of view is so similar to that of field-workers outside the United States.

Nor does Dr. Lowie's material suffer by comparison with the monographs just named. Despite the fact that the Crow even in 1907 were no longer a functioning society, Dr. Lowie has been able to round out his account on practically all the points usually covered by more fortunately placed field-workers. The social organization, the religion, the ceremonial, the clubs, the daily and economic life, are all there, not it is true described by an actual witness, but scientifically pieced together from traditional accounts still remembered, aided by close observation of what still remains in the Crow reservations of the former life. Dr. Lowie has tried consistently not to describe the Crow of that vague time labelled Pre-Columbian, nor the Crow of the equally vague "present day", but the life they were leading at a specific point in time, namely, when they first, around 1838, came in contact with the white man.

To historians, this definiteness in time may well be the chief value of the book. They can now find described, completely though non-technically, exactly how a specific Plains tribe lived, acted, and in many respects thought, at the time when the Plains began to be opened up to the white man. This book does not profess to tell what "the Indians" whom the early explorers met were like, nor even what the Indians of the Plains were like. It does tell, however, very fully and on impeccable authority what the Crow of North Dakota were like, and the Crow partook of many cultural features of the Plains, even though they cannot be regarded as typical of Plains culture any more than any particular European country can be said to be typical of European culture.

Perhaps the most impressive feature of the monograph is the restraint from generalizations. The author has eschewed any consideration of those theoretical questions in which we know him from his other writings to be vitally interested, and recognizing, in Radin's phrase, that "the primary duty of a field-worker is to the culture he is describing", has avoided both the upper and nether millstones of diffusionist conjecture and so-called functional analysis. Hence the description of Crow life is never interrupted by extraneous considerations. For this reason alone the book can be considered one of the best things, if not the best thing, yet produced by the school of Boas. One wonders a little whether any member of that school except Dr. Lowie could have done it.

C. W. M. HART



*The Establishment of the English Church in Continental American Colonies.* By ELIZABETH H. DAVIDSON. (Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, series XX.) Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1936. Pp. 94.

*The Church of Scotland in Lower Canada: Its Struggle for Establishment.* By W. STANFORD REID. Toronto: Presbyterian Publications. 1936. Pp. 192. (\$1.50 cloth; \$1.00 paper)

MISS DAVIDSON has traced the development of the church of England in each of the southern colonies separately for there were as many "kinds of established churches as there were different colonies having them" (p. 79). The material on the middle and northern colonies is combined in one chapter of less than six pages, for the real strength of the church of England lay in the south. Why Nova Scotia was not included is not explained.

While the account has no reference to the position of the church of England in Canada, it is of interest to students of Canadian history, for here it may be seen that there was not one privilege given to the church in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Lower Canada, and Upper Canada, which did not have a more clearly defined counterpart in one or more of the thirteen colonies. In some of the thirteen colonies the church performed civil functions undreamed of in other British North American colonies.

Although the account does not claim to be more than an introductory survey upon which others may elaborate, it is a distinctly valuable piece of work. It is to be regretted that there is no index.

The sub-title of the second volume under review explains the purpose of the work. This might better have been written "Its struggle for privileges equal to those of the church of England", for the church of England was not established by law in Lower Canada, although it had a greater number of privileges than any other religious body.<sup>1</sup> However, Mr. Reid shows clearly that the church of Scotland would have been content to have seen the church of England established by law if the kirk had also been so established, which perhaps warrants giving the title as it is. In reality, the first goal of the church of Scotland was equal privileges, and as this was not reached the question of establishment by law did not come up.

The task undertaken by the writer was a difficult one, for he had to define first the position of the church of England, which depended on many factors. This is done well. In fact, not the least valuable part of the work is the light it throws on the church of England in both Lower and Upper Canada. The volume outlines carefully all the fields on which the struggle for equality was waged: civil registration, marriage, govern-

<sup>1</sup>The essential points of an established church are hard to define. The best definition known to this reviewer is that of the late Professor A. H. Young: "Not endowments, property, support of the clergy, and a share in the government of a province or of its municipalities are the essential points in an establishment, after all, but rather beliefs, doctrine, discipline, forms of worship and of orders" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, Dec., 1934, 351).

ment grants, land endowment, clergy reserves, and education. The conclusion is that the kirk, quite unintentionally, started the movement which led to the downfall of all thought of an establishment in the Canadas. Contemporary documents, which have been quoted freely but with good judgment, have been used almost exclusively.

The proof-reading is almost faultless, although "Paisley" appears twice as "Paisely" (pp. 132, 155). There is an occasional awkward expression, e.g., "reserving" for "reservation" (p. 46n.). On page 167 the implication is made that it was unfortunate that the kirk and the church of England "did not long remain in the comfortable positions secured for them in 1840". While this must remain a matter of personal opinion, it is doubtful if many competent judges would subscribe to that opinion to-day.

However, these minor points do not detract from the very clear statement which has been presented and the logical conclusions drawn from it. In its original form this work was submitted as a master's thesis at McGill University. An index, added since the thesis was presented, increases the value of the work.

J. J. TALMAN

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*Governor Arthur's Convict System, Van Diemen's Land, 1824-36: A Study in Colonization.* By WILLIAM DOUGLASS FORSYTH. (Royal Empire Society, Imperial Studies, no. 10.) London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1935. Pp. xv, 213. (\$2.50)

SIR GEORGE ARTHUR'S term of office as lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada was so soon overshadowed by the figure of Lord Durham that he has received minor attention at the hands of Canadian historians. A brief sketch of his Canadian career by Professor Sage in the Queen's University studies<sup>1</sup> and a chapter in William Smith's *Political leaders in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1931), furnish only limited information regarding the man who was sent out as successor to Sir Francis Bond Head and who came into a province rent and torn by the political troubles to which his predecessor had contributed not a little. Though Mr. Forsyth's study of the Arthur administration has no direct bearing upon Canadian history, it is of considerable interest and value for the light which it throws upon the character of the governor himself.

Arthur's job in Van Diemen's Land was to organize a colony upon the basis of convictism. He failed, as any other man would also have failed, because the whole foundation was unsound. Arthur frankly subordinated the political aspirations of a free people to the penal code and directed his powers to the administration of that code despite all criticism and opposition. Absolutism was his conception of good government and he was not averse to "harrying out of the land". Mr. Forsyth speaks of "the reserve amounting almost to insult, which he displayed to persons who were the daily visitors of his predecessor, the coolness of his reception of newly-arrived officers of his departments, the peremptory

<sup>1</sup>Walter Sage, *Sir George Arthur and his administration of Upper Canada*. (Bulletin no. 28 of the departments of history and political and economic science in Queen's University.) Kingston: July, 1918. Pp. 32.

demands for explanations written in his fine sloping hand across the returns he sent back to some of his magistrates", all confirming the judgment that "he lacked the art of governing in a conciliatory spirit". He was ready to take upon his own shoulders the weight of the whole government of the colony, and did so. This was the man, opposed to legitimate democratic aspirations in Van Diemen's Land, who was sent in 1837 to Upper Canada, then on the verge of armed rebellion and in quest also of more democratic administration. He was the last of the old soldier governors in Upper Canada. Without Durham's restraining hand there would doubtless have been a continued policy of stern repression in the tried manner of Van Diemen's Land. Durham's policy was the very opposite of that of Arthur and when the famous report appeared Arthur could see in it "the worst evil that has yet befallen Upper Canada".

Mr. Forsyth's book has a further minor interest for Canada in its description of convict life in Van Diemen's Land. Following the border troubles of 1838, more than one hundred and fifty political prisoners were sent to the distant penal colony and remained there for varying terms. A number of these exiles after their return to America wrote narratives of their experiences, these books now being much sought after by collectors.

FRED LONDON

*Les communes de Laprairie.* Par l'Abbé ÉLISÉE CHOQUET. Laprairie: Imprimerie du Sacré-Cœur. 1935. Pp. 153. (90c.)

1735-1935, *Histoire de Châteauguay.* Par ÉLIE-J. AUCLAIR. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1935. Pp. 243.

*Histoire primitive de la paroisse de Saint-Thomas de Montmagny.* Ptie I: *Topographie de Montmagny.* Par ALBERT DION. Québec: L'Action catholique. 1935. Pp. 208.

*Histoire de la paroisse de Gentilly.* Par LUCIEN DUBOIS. N.p. 1935. Pp. 286.

THESE four books deal with the history of rural parishes in Quebec. In history, as in geography and other sciences, we must have monographs, but the writing of them is not easy. The monograph in local history must be linked with the general history of the country. The writer should be familiar with the geography of his locality and the biographical details of the principal families; he should describe the social and economic life of his community, should inquire about the causes of increase or decrease in the population, and so forth. Local histories planned on such lines will attract the attention not only of local readers but of historians and even of the wider reading public.

Professor Raoul Blanchard in his *L'est du Canada-Français* (see review by M. Gustave Lanctot in this journal, March, 1936, 86) relied on local monographs for his study of regional geography. But he found that, because books were lacking in geographical background and economic information, they could be used only with difficulty. M. Blanchard's criticism is right and the reviewer thinks that it applies to the four books

under review. It is not correct to say that documents are wanting. The real difficulty is to find and make full use of them, and one questions the value of writing local histories when this cannot be done. In the use of documentary evidence and in information with regard to bibliography these four books are unfortunately not on a high level.

Laprairie, the subject of Father Choquet's volume, is located on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, south-east of Montreal and has two communes, St. Lambert and Laprairie. The author is familiar with their local history but unfortunately his references to books and other sources of information are very defective. He adopts an unusual method, giving his bibliography at the beginning, and commencing "Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen". It would be interesting from the point of view of Canadian economic and political history to be given information on the distribution of lands to the first settlers, on their redistribution, on the evolution of local administration, civil and religious, and on many other aspects of life in the local community. The author could do much to satisfy the reader's curiosity. He has seen many unpublished documents, and reproduces some of them in part; but comments and explanations are largely lacking or are not very illuminating. The book is rather lacking in interest, except perhaps the discussion of legal controversies as to surveying and land grants. The military grants and the confiscation of the Jesuit estates are discussed. Among the topics omitted, the most conspicuous to the reviewer is that of the rural environment. This is a subject of general interest not only to the historian but to the geographer. It is easy for French writers to get information as questionnaires and answers have been published in French.

Father Auclair's *Histoire de Châteauguay* has been well turned out by Beauchemin's press with finely reproduced photographs. The book has been written in connection with the bicentennial of the parish of Châteauguay. The writer has had much experience in historical research. The material is well organized and the book may be easily used for reference, particularly by means of its lengthy table of contents. The author can write well, but the style is unfortunately marred by faults in syntax, grammar, and use of words. Father Auclair observes (p. 69) that one of his fellow members of the Royal Society asked him to deal more with the civil administration of parishes than with curate's stories. He has followed this suggestion, but he might have dealt more fully with some topics and especially economic development.

Montmagny, about which Father Dion has written, lies on the south shore of the St. Lawrence about forty miles from Quebec. The title *Topographie de Montmagny* is misleading as there is no discussion of topography. The book has been written by an old man for his neighbours and has a certain charm as it wanders from geography to poetry. The author is unfortunate in some of his quotations of poems. Many verses are wrong, especially one that he attributes (p. 49) to A. de Vigny. The book has little of historical value except for the genealogy of certain Montmagny families, but there is no index as a guide to these details.

The author of the *Histoire de la paroisse de Gentilly* is a young farmer who has risen to be member of the federal parliament for his native constituency. In the foreword it is observed that he has "left for a moment the plough handle for the pen". He is to be commended for his literary effort. The book is simply written. It is not a local history but rather a collection of small legends or stories and of genealogical information. The table of contents serves as an index.

BENOIT BROUILLETTE

*Histoire du Canada pour tous. Tome II: Le régime anglais.* Par JEAN BRUCHESI. (Documents historiques.) [Montréal]: Lévesque. 1935. Pp. 364. (\$1.25)

*Trente ans de vie nationale.* Par ARMAND LA VERGNE. (Collection du Zodiaque '35.) Montréal: Les Éditions du Zodiaque, Librairie Déom Frère, 1247, rue Saint-Denis. 1934. Pp. 228.

*Études économiques.* (Publications de l'École des Hautes Études Commerciales de Montréal.) Thèses présentées à la "Licence en Sciences commerciales" en mai, 1935. Vol. V. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1935. Pp. 431.

*Statistical Year Book, Quebec, 1935.* 22nd year. Quebec: Rédempti Paradis. Pp. xxxiii, 452.

THESE four books are of value not only for the information contained in them but also for their interpretations of Canadian history and contemporary problems by French-Canadian writers. The volume by Professor Bruchesi, of the staff of the University of Montreal, completes a history of Canada for the general reader rather than the scholar. The first part of the work, which appeared in 1933, brought the story of French Canada down to the conquest. This second volume, in bringing the story to the present, is forced to cover not only a longer but a much more complex period—a task which is accomplished not so much by condensation as by elimination. Although the preface promises an account of social and economic, as well as of political, development, the book contains little but political history. Even this is limited by concentration on the effects of political action upon French-Canadian interests, to the exclusion of much in political history outside of Quebec. The Maritime Provinces are almost wholly ignored, and in the west Riel bulks larger than the C.P.R.

Most historians would be inclined to question not so much M. Bruchesi's facts as his interpretations, as for instance, when he takes an isolated sentence of John A. Macdonald's from its context and represents that staunch imperialist as preferring American to British institutions (p. 235). Extensive footnote references cannot be expected in a book for the general reader, and yet their omission seems unfortunate in the case of interpretations which are controversial in character. There is a slight bibliography and a map which is marred by some inaccuracies. The book begins with the miracle of French-Canadian survival and ends on the same theme. Between, the pages teem with heroes and villains. For its purpose the book is well written.

The subject of the late M. La Vergne's book is not as ambitious as the title might lead one to expect. Apart from some preliminary observations on his ancestors and incidents in his youth, the author has limited himself largely to reminiscences on election campaigns in the province of Quebec between 1896 and 1911. The treatment is not only autobiographical but explicitly apologetic. As this period was one of Liberal ascendancy, the French nationalist group sometimes found itself fighting on the Conservative side, but, determined to maintain an independent position, it was more frequently forced to attack on two fronts, and as regularly caught between two fires. Desertion was a major problem. How far the nationalists were also weakened by fundamental inconsistencies in their policy and by rivalry and weakness in leadership, we are not told. In a book full of colourful and vivid descriptions, the figure of La Vergne's political partner remains strangely vague and almost ghost-like. We see what Bourassa does but we never see Bourassa, and for all the reiteration of French nationalist demands we never get a clear statement of nationalist policy. It was natural, therefore, that this group in the pre-war period was stronger in attack than in the consolidation of positions won.

It is unnecessary to suppose that the author had to rely on any sources for the preparation of this book other than his own private papers and his own retentive memory. At only one or two points does the book present facts likely to prove useful to the student of history. These concern attempts of the two major parties to secure the adhesion of the nationalist group by the offer to its leaders of cabinet positions.

In the volume of *Études économiques* there are printed ten theses presented for the licentiate in commercial sciences at l'École des Hautes Études Commerciales de Montréal. The school is to be highly commended for the publication of the series of which this is the fifth volume. Several of the studies in this volume are not specifically on Canadian themes; others have already been mentioned briefly but adequately in a former number of the REVIEW. Two, however, warrant somewhat more extended notices: Leonidas Joubert's "Des groupements canadiens-français au Canada", and Rodolphe Maheu's "Mouvements démographiques au Canada depuis le commencement du vingtième siècle: Immigration et émigration". The former has presented in a stimulating and highly suggestive way the progress of the *Canadiens* throughout the dominion. In view of the startling statistical material massed in the body of the thesis, M. Joubert's conclusions seem restrained and in the main convincing. The fact that the statistical treatment is throughout suffused with a devout and patriotic emotion does not greatly detract from the interest in his treatment of this vital Canadian problem. M. Maheu's subject is adequately outlined in the title of his article. While not so stimulating as the other thesis, M. Maheu's treatment is more judicious in temper. Although both studies are based essentially on statistical materials already published by the dominion bureau of statistics, they perform a useful service in the selection and interpretation of the relevant figures.

The twenty-second volume of the valuable *Year book* of the province of Quebec differs from its predecessors chiefly in its bilingual character. Hitherto separate French and English editions have been issued. The purpose of the change has been "more especially, to stress the bilingual character of our Province". No essential changes have been made in the organization of this edition which continues to follow in the main the arrangement in the *Canada year book*. Of the twelve sections of which the book is composed, those on production and public administration and finance constitute one-half. The chief materials used in the preparation of the volume are the publications of the dominion bureau of statistics and the annual report of the Quebec government departments. Only here and there are comparative statistics for the rest of the dominion as a whole inserted. We venture to suggest that an extension of this practice might add to the significance of this already most useful work.

W. M. WHITELAW

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*The Canadian Commercial Revolution, 1845-1851.* By GILBERT NORMAN TUCKER. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1936. Pp. [vi]. 258. (\$3.00)

THIS monograph should be gratefully received by those interested in Canadian history. It presents in lucid and coherent form the results of a comprehensive yet unified study of a critical period of Canadian history. It might have been more accurately entitled "The revolution in Canadian commercial policy" for it deals particularly with policy and only indirectly with commerce. What is discussed is one of the repercussions of the industrial revolution in Britain and of the consequent changes in British commercial policy.

The object of Canadian policy had been the development of export staples and the St. Lawrence route on the double foundation of the imperial preference and the navigation laws. In spite of heroic efforts on the part of a small colony, the St. Lawrence route never became a serious rival of New York. When protection and preference alike were abandoned in Britain, the repeal of the navigation laws was necessary to avoid strangling the St. Lawrence route and the reciprocity treaty was necessary to give Canadian staples access to a possible market. In the end the salvation of the export trade came as much from rising prices as from the reciprocity treaty.

Professor Tucker has given us the results of a careful study of such familiar topics as the rivalry of Montreal and New York, the annexation manifesto, reciprocity, and the famine migration of 1847. It may fairly be said that he has not discovered new information, but he has rendered special service in discerning the pattern in which the principal events of the period group themselves. As he points out in his conclusion, empire preference, reciprocity, and the St. Lawrence waterway are still potent factors in Canadian economic policy. Their present-day significance will be the better appreciated for this history of a really critical period in Canadian development.



Professor Tucker's conclusion is that the change in policy created problems of readjustment rather than of frustration and that once the readjustment was made the colony, like the mother country, was benefited by the change. Without disputing this general conclusion, one may suggest that he has taken insufficient account of the movements of prices. The downward trend of prices, 1815-50, made it increasingly difficult for the colony to reach the British market even with the preference and the St. Lawrence canals. The upward movement in the middle of the century made it possible for her to reach it even without the preference, and the reciprocity treaty allowed her to enter the American market of the railway and settlement boom.

W. A. MACKINTOSH

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*Histoire de la nation métisse dans l'ouest canadien.* Par AUGUSTE-HENRI de TRÉMAUDAN. (Documents historiques.) [Montréal:] Éditions Albert Lévesque. 1935. Pp. 450. (\$1.50)

To a certain extent this is a co-operative work. The body of the book is from the pen of the late M. de Trémaudan, but in its preparation he enjoyed the collaboration of the Comité Historique de l'Union National Métisse which gained access to many documents in the possession of the Riel family and reduced to writing the recollections of many actors in, and witnesses of, the stirring events of 1870 and 1885 in western Canada. Unhappily the death of M. de Trémaudan took place before he had written the chapter which he planned on the most controversial aspects of the insurrection of 1885. This gap the Comité, now incorporated as La Société Historique Métisse, has undertaken to fill in an appendix of some forty-five closely printed pages.

The work is divided into three parts. The first describes the origin and inheritance of "la nation métisse" from French- or English-speaking fathers and Indian mothers. The second section gives an account of the life of this "new nation": the part which it played in the expansion of the fur-trade and in the work of exploration; its entanglement in the feud between the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies; the Red river buffalo hunts in connection with each of which there momentarily sprang into existence a simple form of self-government which later was revived in times of crisis like 1870 and 1885 in the shape of Riel's provisional governments; and finally, the beginnings at Red river, after the Selkirk settlement, of the transition to a more settled type of life marked by a primitive cultivation of the soil, the civilizing labours of the church and school, and the struggle for freedom of trade and a growing share in the government. All this is an old story, but it is pleasingly told. The premature death of the author probably accounts for such lapses in proof-reading as Peter "Bond" for Pond and Sir John "Cape" Sherbrooke. More serious are the unqualified assertions that both Radisson and the sons of La Vérendrye reached the Rocky mountains and that Fort La Jonquière was on the site of the modern city of Calgary. One may be permitted, also, to question whether the present population of Canada

would have been twenty instead of ten millions had it not been for the hostility of the Hudson's Bay Company to settlement.

The main section of the book, however, is part three which is entitled "La nation métisse, son martyre". Along with the appendix, this treats of the insurrections of 1870 and 1885 and occupies two-thirds of the work. It is needless to say that this is an extremely controversial field. The more it is studied the clearer it becomes that 1870 was one of the critical years in Canadian history. Was British North America west of the great lakes to pass to the United States, leaving Canada a relatively insignificant Laurentian state, or was Canada to defy "manifest destiny" by acquiring a hinterland on the central plains and a coast on the Pacific? In the latter case, how soon were the inhabitants of the new region to be granted the self-government of provincial status? Was the French-speaking, Roman Catholic population which had been in the west since the days of La Vérendrye, and which constituted the majority, to be guaranteed in perpetuity linguistic equality and clerical control of education, or with the influx of settlement was English to become the official tongue and state-controlled, secular schools the rule? Was the west to be a new Ontario or a new Quebec? The complex forces operating gradually to determine these issues are dealt with from the standpoint of one who would make the latter choice. The villains of the piece are Schultz, McDougall, McTavish, Donald A. Smith, the Hudson's Bay Company in London, the tricky Ottawa politicians with Sir John Macdonald at their head, and, above all, "les orangistes" of Ontario. The leaders of French Canada are accused of blindness to the issues because they failed to give greater support to their Métis cousins and for not diverting French migration from New England to the west, where the building up of Manitoba as a predominantly French-speaking province would have given a better balanced economy to the whole dominion. On the other hand, the man who really saw what was at stake and became the hero of the drama was Louis Riel. He it was who averted annexation to the United States which would have ended all chance of the persistence of the French language and the privileges of the church. It was his championship in arms alone which won, first for Manitoba and then for the territories, rights of self-government. Above all, he was the peerless leader of his own people, the Métis, in the battle for guarantees which would safeguard their French and Catholic culture. Point by point, all the charges which have been levelled against Riel are refuted and he emerges as statesman, saint, and martyr. The sole adverse criticism to which he is subjected is that in 1885 he interfered in military matters to restrain Dumont from an Indian, guerilla type of warfare in which the latter believed the sole hope of success to lie.

Modern students of Canadian history are not oblivious to faults of the Hudson's Bay Company nor to the blunders of Ottawa in dealing with a primitive and kindly people who possessed a not unheroic tradition. The shabby treatment which they received has rankled in their minds to the present day and M. de Trémaudan has performed a real service in presenting the point of view of the Métis. It is an account, however, which in various respects is susceptible of challenge. To take but two or

three examples. The apology for the execution of Thomas Scott is not convincing, either from the standpoint of humanity or statesmanship. While undoubtedly the halfbreed population both in 1870 and 1885 had serious grievances, they were, in the view of the present reviewer and of many in the west at those times, not such as to justify recourse to arms. Moreover, to attribute the existence of self-government in the north-west wholly to Riel's insurrections is to draw altogether too long a bow. They helped to bring more quickly, in the one case provincial status to Manitoba, and in the other representation for the territories at Ottawa, but these were developments that were bound to come in due course in a British dominion, and it is permissible to believe that it would have been better to let them come, even if more slowly, by peaceful means. To debate these matters in detail, however, far transcends the limits of a review. Suffice it to say that M. de Trémaudan expressed the hope that his book would challenge reconsideration by historians of the period with which it deals, and this, in company with Father Morice's *Critical history of the Red river insurrection* (Winnipeg, 1935), it succeeds in doing.

The work has two technical defects. It lacks the convenience of an index, and though an extensive list of the authorities consulted is given, there is no precise citation of the sources. The latter is a grave omission, for it hardly needs to be said that anyone wishing to alter the current verdict of history, especially in such a controversial field, should cite chapter and verse for his contentions.

M. H. LONG

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*The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions.* By GEORGE F. G. STANLEY. With maps and illustrations. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company. 1936. Pp. xiv, 475. (\$4.50)

THE sub-title gives a good indication of the content of this book. The period prior to 1860 is dismissed in less than thirty pages, while the remainder is devoted to the Red river insurrection and the north-west rebellion. The study is based on materials in the Public Record Office, the Public Archives of Canada, and the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. But much that is both interesting and fresh comes from the despatches of Consul Taylor to the department of state in Washington.

The theses of Dr. Stanley are: first, that the troubles in the north-west were not primarily racial or religious, but a normal frontier problem, the clash between a primitive and a civilized people; second, that the Indian and Métis problems were similar and inseparable, although their connection was more apparent in 1885 than it was in 1869-70. In establishing these theses, he does not, like many writers with a case to prove, overlook the older and more traditional interpretations of the period. He does not minimize the importance of the racial and religious factors, but rather tries to show how the frontier theory underlay them. He also shows that it was in the impact of the Indian and Métis questions on the Canadas, in the amnesty question and in the attempt to secure a pardon

for Riel, rather than in the west itself, that race and religion were of greatest import.

In discussing the insurrection of 1869-70, Dr. Stanley states that the "half-breed rising was not merely a French ebullition . . . it was the rising of a small native community against economic and racial absorption by an unfamiliar aggressive civilization" (p. 88). "Neither their racial consciousness nor their primitive economy was strong enough to maintain the separate identity of the half-breed 'nation' in the midst of an overwhelming white immigration and a competitive nineteenth century civilization. Herein lies the basic cause of the half-breed rising in 1869" (p. 18). Yet along with this view, he is careful to point out that the economic unrest was strongest prior to 1850 and was directed against the Hudson's Bay Company; and that after that date it became more and more racial and political and was directed against Canada (p. 44).

Within the last few years the righteousness of the victors of 1870 has been called in question several times; for example, by Father Morice in his *Critical history of the Red river insurrection* (Winnipeg, 1935), and by A. H. de Trémaudan in his *Histoire de la nation métisse dans l'ouest canadien* (Montreal, 1935). Dr. Stanley apparently sympathizes with this view. Although he does not state emphatically that there was no rebellion at Red river, he obviously prefers to describe the movement as an insurrection. In fact, the generally accepted infallibility of the Canadian case receives some hard knocks, and herein lies one of the real contributions of the book. "At no time had there ever existed any particular attachment on the part of the Red River Settlement for Canada" (p. 49). "The Dominion Government completely ignored the people of Assiniboia in the negotiation with the Hudson's Bay Company" (p. 57). Riel's "aim was not to fight Canada, but with the whole body of the settlers, French and English, behind him, to force the Canadian Government to negotiate with the half-breeds the terms of their entry into Confederation" (p. 71). "As a province [rather than as a territory] the half-breeds would be able to erect the legislative safeguards necessary to protect their rights and those of the Church against the time when they would be in a minority" (p. 95). The use of the term half-breeds in these last two sentences must be an inadvertence on the part of the author. The agreement in keeping with which the dominion government erected the settlement into a province, was negotiated by a provisional government supported by both English and French, whites and half-breeds.

Dr. Stanley has much to say in defence of Riel. He points out clearly that the Métis leader never considered himself a rebel; that he even wanted to receive officially Wolseley's troops, and was only persuaded by his friends to seek safety in flight at the last moment. The actual disturbances, he thinks, were due to the activities of the Ontario group or of McDougall and his agents, and these activities were at least as illegal as Riel's. The Canadian sympathizers compelled the Métis to resort to force or to submit to the demands of a minority group in the community. The real victory of these energetic men, so recently arrived from the east, was that they unwittingly but surely, forced Riel to make the great mistake of his administration, the execution of Scott. This

event turned a struggle for provincial rights into a religious crusade, and made its leader, who sought protection for the liberties of his people, a "murderer".

Riel in 1870 is pictured as a tragic figure. The armed force which was sent to the Red river to appease Ontario was "not a punitive expedition, but a constabulary and a defence against the Indians". But before it Riel's government evaporated, and he himself sought refuge to the south with a price on his head. Yet the Manitoba Act incorporated the general features of the Métis Bill of Rights. If Riel had failed personally, his cause had triumphed; but this must have given the Métis leader about as much consolation as being a member, if only momentarily, of the house of commons of the country from which he had been banished.

The amnesty question is discussed at length. The religious, racial, constitutional, and political aspects are stressed in turn, and it is shown clearly that the Riel question in the east was very different from what it was in the west. A few sentences, such as "in Red River the death of Scott aroused no bitter feelings or racial recriminations, but in Canada it was the spark which relighted the latent embers of sectarian controversy", and a judicious selection of cartoons from *Grip*, indicate the plane on which political battles were fought in Canada on the eve of the Pacific scandal.

The latter part of the book is devoted to the troubles on the Saskatchewan in 1885. It is a straightforward and very satisfactory narrative of events which requires little comment. Praise is heaped on Canadian Indian policy in contrast with that of the United States, but the author notes that the absence of a lawless frontier class, and the presence of the half-breeds, made the Canadian problem much simpler than that of her southern neighbour.

The rebellion of 1885, Dr. Stanley contends, was due primarily to maladministration on the part of the Macdonald government. The endless delay in redressing the grievances of the Métis, and the retrenchment in the department of Indian affairs at an unfortunate moment, were the immediate causes of the rising. Behind these immediate causes, however, a Granger movement is to be found, supported by English-speaking subjects. Riel at first tried to unite all factions of discontent in the north-west, and had he been more moderate, he might well have succeeded. For example, the Bill of Rights of February 25, 1885, contains clauses advocating tariff reduction, representation of the territories in the federal government, and a Hudson's bay railway, as well as the better known Métis demands. The failure of Riel to hold the support of his English-speaking followers meant the inevitable defeat of his movement, even before it became a rebellion; so much so that the results of the rising were more important than the rising itself.

One finds little in this book to criticize. Most differences are on questions of opinion rather than of fact. The high repute in which Dr. Stanley holds the Hudson's Bay Company in contrast to the North West Company in the period prior to 1821, may be based on circumstances more apparent than real. Yet he repeats the old tale that the company was hostile to colonization. Apparently, he is unaware of all that the

company did to find an exportable produce for its colony, in its winter road, and its attempts to lead the settlers into the production of wool, hemp, and flax—light articles, easy to carry over the portages and fetching high prices in England. He appears also to be unconscious of the fact that the wheat of that day took so long to come to maturity that it was frequently damaged by frost. It would be truer to the situation to say that in view of its experiences of failure, the company despaired of settlement. It was transportation by railways and the early maturing red fife wheat of the 1880's that made settlement of the west possible. The location of Fort Garry in relation to the village of Winnipeg in 1869 (p. 71), is hardly accurate. The early date at which Indian "title" to land was recognized is confused with a "right of occupancy" (p. 206). Chapter xi, on the development of the north-west to 1885 is weak on the economic side. Only a few casual references are made to the work of Father Lacombe in preventing the spread of the Indian rising in 1885 (pp. 322, 361). The files of the *Nor-wester* do not appear to have been used, except at second hand, on the period prior to 1870. The use of this material and of the diary of Alexander Begg in the Public Archives of Canada would have led the author to realize that the Canadian party led the Red river settlers, French and English, to believe that the next step forward for the colony was representative and responsible government and that it was the withholding of these that brought the English settlers ultimately to the support of Louis Riel. Why they fell in behind him is not adequately explained. The footnotes would have been much more useful in closer proximity to the text, rather than at the end of the volume; and one must disagree with the author when he says that his bibliography "would be impressive . . . but not of great value".

These are but minor faults in a thoroughly good book. Dr. Stanley's work is a valuable contribution to the history of western Canada, and is undoubtedly the best-balanced account of the activities of Louis Riel that we have had to date. Without appearing as an apologist he successfully undermines many traditions that have died hard on the banks of the Red river.

R. O. MACFARLANE

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*A Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography: The Canadian Who Was Who.* Vol. I. Edited by CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS and ARTHUR L. TUNNELL. Toronto: Trans-Canada Press. 1934. Pp. [viii], 562.

*National Encyclopedia of Canadian Biography.* Edited by JESSE EDGAR MIDDLETON and W. SCOTT DOWNS. Toronto: The Dominion Publishing Company. 1935. Pp. [iv], 383.

THE solid, business-like volume, edited by Dr. Roberts and Mr. Tunnell, contains the names of over 400 Canadian men and women who died between the dates 1875 and 1933. It is the first volume of a series which will eventually cover the whole field of Canadian history. The editors commenced their work with the years 1875 to 1933 in order that the sketches might include first-hand contemporary information culled from families and friends, while it is still available. The biographies, therefore,

are never mere chronological summaries, or compilations of well-known material. They are, rather, articles in which a definite attempt has been made to incorporate new material and personal impressions and recollections. In many cases the subjects of the sketches have been well known to the writers, *e.g.*, the article on Principal Gordon of Queen's University by his daughter; on George Goodridge Roberts, the Anglican divine, by Theodore Goodridge Roberts, *etc.* Bibliographical notes are appended to each biography, and in the sketches a considerable amount of genealogical information has been included. It is difficult to pass judgment on the accuracy of such a book. The biographies which were checked, however, were found to be accurate. The names of the contributors are in many cases a guarantee of scholarship.

The subjects dealt with include business-men, industrialists, statesmen, artists, poets, jurists, engineers, educationists, military men, physicians, and scientists, the scene being somewhat overcrowded with business-men and educationists. The permanent or even the transitory importance of some of the people included may be questioned, but perhaps the fact that names may be found here which are not included in any other biographical dictionary increases the value of this volume. Among the most interesting biographies are those of Bliss Carman and Francis Joseph Sherman by Dr. Lorne Pierce; James Wilson Morrice by Professor H. R. MacCallum; and Sir Charles Tupper by Mr. George H. Cowan, K.C. (Further biographies for the years since 1875 will be included in later volumes of the series.)

The *National Encyclopedia* is a very attractively printed volume, and well illustrated with photographs of outstanding Canadians. The editors have given us practically no indication in their preface, however, of the scope of the work. There seems to be too much Ontario in general and Toronto in particular to justify entirely the use of the word "National". We do not know how or why the biographies have been chosen. There are, for instance, excellent articles on Sir Oliver Mowat, the late Mr. T. P. Loblaw, Colonel Talbot, M. Pierre-Georges Roy, the late Mr. Sam McBride, William Lyon Mackenzie, Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, and Sir John Beverley Robinson. There are seven pages under the heading of "Denton Massey", but the present Canadian high commissioner does not even appear in the index. Moreover, there is no explanation given of the arrangement, which is not alphabetical, chronological, or professional. There is an index of names at the end of the volume, but no indication as to whether the name listed is the subject of a biography or whether it merely occurs in a genealogical list. The biographies themselves are very good and in a brief survey no errors were discovered. They are in the form of articles rather than summaries and are essentially readable. Many quotations are given from contemporary newspapers and private letters; there are anecdotes and delightful odds and ends of information; in fact the volume contains a great deal of useful and informative material for the reader who has the patience to find it.



*Canadian-American Industry: A Study in International Investment.* By HERBERT MARSHALL, FRANK A. SOUTHARD, and KENNETH W. TAYLOR. With an excursus on "The Canadian Balance of Payments" by FRANK A. KNOX. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.) New Haven: Yale University Press. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1936. Pp. xv, 360. (\$3.00)

IN this volume are the first fruits of Professor Shotwell's project of research in Canadian-American relations. The particular relations studied in this co-operative volume are vital indeed and discussions of them in the past have been distinctly impressionistic when not vague and rhetorical. To describe quantitatively so tangled a skein has been obviously a task calling for persistence, discrimination, and ingenuity.

After sketching the early history, which is necessarily fragmentary, the authors give an extended account of the development of American industry in Canada, followed by a briefer one of Canadian industry in the United States. Summary descriptions of the extent of the invasions are followed by detailed discussions of the movements in individual industries. These chapters will probably remain for most readers a work of reference but one of great value.

The general reader will probably find of greatest interest the chapters on motives and consequences and problems. While motives are not easily disentangled, the discussion of the relative importance of tariffs, consumer-preference, servicing requirements, *etc.*, as reasons for the migration of industries, is illuminating. In the main the migration has been a search for raw materials or a "new export technique".

The rate of increase in American branch-plants is expected to be much lower in the future. The tendency for Canadian capital to buy control of the American subsidiaries will probably increase. While Canadian export of capital is unlikely to become highly important in the world at large, the Canadian economy is becoming more mature and Canadian international attitudes are becoming correspondingly articulate.

Professor Knox's *excursus* makes available the results of his researches on the Canadian balance of payments and in addition includes a useful discussion of the difficulties of estimating the items in the Canadian balance since 1914.

There will be other volumes published on Canadian-American relations which will have a much wider popular appeal, but there will be few that will contribute more toward filling in a blank in the map of our knowledge.

W. A. MACKINTOSH

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has now for several years attempted to record the activities of archives, museums, libraries, historical societies, and other agencies for the stimulation of interest in historical studies throughout the dominion. In many respects the situation is still disappointing in the extreme, but there is at the same time evidence that some important advances are being made. The notes published regularly in this section of the REVIEW are an interesting comment on this fact, and we are pleased to have special illustration of it in the short accounts contributed to this issue by Dr. Webster and Professor Sage.

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The Association of Canadian Bookmen, Professor Pelham Edgar, president, presented Canada's first national book-fair at the King Edward Hotel, Toronto, on November 9-14, 1936. A representative committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Hugh Eayrs had made careful preparation, and a notable success in arousing public interest was achieved. Among the exhibits was "the most complete display of old and current Canadiana ever assembled in one place", including not only books but manuscripts, portraits, letters, and other rare items.

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Dr. Gerald S. Graham has been appointed a lecturer in history at Queen's University for the current session. He holds an M.A. from Queen's and Harvard and a Ph.D. from Cambridge. Since 1930 he has been an instructor at Harvard. Professor W. Menzies Whitelaw again conducted the Queen's summer school of historical research at the Public Archives in Ottawa. Professor J. P. Pritchett was again a visiting professor at the Queen's summer school in Kingston.

Professor F. H. Soward of the University of British Columbia was last May advanced from the rank of associate professor to that of professor. Dr. Sylvia Thrupp remains this year at British Columbia as instructor in history. Professor R. G. Trotter of Queen's University was this year a visiting member of the staff of the summer school at Vancouver.

Dr. R. A. Preston has been appointed lecturer in history for the current year at the University of Toronto. After graduating from Leeds Mr. Preston received a Commonwealth Fellowship and completed his Ph.D. at Yale.

Dr. George F. G. Stanley has been appointed lecturer in history at Mount Allison University.

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To the list of graduate theses in Canadian history and related subjects printed in the last issue of this journal the following titles of masters' theses should be added:

IRENE THELMA MEREDITH, A.B. Wayne University 1936. American repatriation of British loyalists after the American revolution. *Wayne University*, Detroit.

GEORGE E. TIMSON, A.B. Wayne University 1935. Sir John Johnson. *Wayne University*.

The contributors to this issue of the REVIEW are: Mr. E. C. Kyte, librarian of Queen's University; Dr. George F. G. Stanley whose book *The birth of western Canada* was recently published and who was this autumn appointed lecturer at Mount Allison University; Professor Norman Macdonald of McMaster University; Dr. J. P. Pritchett of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.; Mr. Harold P. Johns of Victoria, B.C.; and Professor H. A. Innis of the University of Toronto.

#### ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

*L'Archevêché de Québec.* In a very informative article in the *Report* of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association for 1934-5, the Abbé I. Caron describes the historical material in the Archives of the Archbishopric of Québec. This collection is, of course, of the highest value not only for the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada but, as the abbé points out, for the general history of the dominion. "On ne saurait, en effet, écrire l'histoire d'un pays sans consulter les documents où sont consignés les faits se rapportant à son évolution religieuse." He discusses the contents of the archives under the following heads: "Lettres des évêques de Québec; "Registre des lettres"; "Registres d'insinuation"; "Registres des requêtes"; "Registre et cartable du chapitre"; "Lettres reçues".

The *British Columbia Conference* of the United Church of Canada has for some time had an historical committee at work, the Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, secretary. The committee met in May, 1936, and its report has been received by the REVIEW. It includes an interesting note on Vancouver's earliest church and a list of acquisitions. The main task of the committee has been the collection of congregational histories, and other material relating to the history of the United Church in British Columbia. Information on these matters appears month by month in the *Western recorder*.

The *Commercial and Industrial Museum*, located in Montreal and operated in connection with the School of Higher Commercial Studies, was founded in 1916, and a unique collection of more than 18,000 specimens, with over 1,000 photographs, maps, graphs, and explanatory notices, has been assembled under the able direction of Dr. Henry Laureys, dean of the school. The collection now represents almost a complete panorama of industry in Canada: it provides a survey of production and manufacture from raw materials to finished articles; processes are outlined in detail, sources of raw material indicated, and working models of the more complicated industrial machinery have been installed; there are collections of agricultural, mineral, and forest products. The exhibits are housed in a three-storey building, specially designed for a museum, and its equipment is modern. Special invitations are extended to schools to have classes visit the collection, and the doors are open at all times to the general public.

*Hamilton Public Library.* The Canadian collection in the library is not large, but it may occasionally be profitable for students to inquire in Hamilton for material not located elsewhere. The collection of nineteenth-century Canadian poetry is extensive, including a dozen

items not listed in James's *Bibliography of Canadian poetry*. A large number of Ontario school textbooks has also been acquired. The periodical list shows over forty titles not included in the *Joint catalogue of periodicals* of the Toronto libraries. Some of these are only of local interest and many are business or trade periodicals, very probably to be found in Toronto even though not listed, but it may be worth mentioning that Hamilton has the *Canadian illustrated news* (Hamilton, I-III, 1862-4) and can supply missing volumes for a number of files listed in the Toronto catalogue. There is little in the sections on travel and history prior to the nineteenth century (except, of course, modern reprints) but nineteenth-century travellers and historians are well represented, including over thirty titles up to 1867 not found in the *Bibliography of Canadiana* of the Toronto Public Library.

*Minnesota Historical Society.* A letter written by the Earl of Selkirk from London on July 1, 1806, in which he mentions the postponement of his visit to America and the enclosure of letters for Alexander McDonnell, has been presented to the society.

*Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario.* In view of the growing recognition of the importance of local history, the Ontario Archives, during the past year, endeavoured to secure complete sets of the printed minutes of the county councils of Ontario, established in 1849. Covering, as they do, every phase of community life it is apparent that these records must be used as the basis for most local history. The effort has resulted in the securing of practically complete sets of minutes of the county councils of Leeds and Grenville, Simcoe, Victoria, and York, from their establishment to the present; good but less extensive sets for the counties of Essex, Halton, Kent, and Welland; and odd years of other counties.

*Queen's University Library.* Owing to the generosity of a distinguished graduate, Queen's University has been able to purchase the collection of maps and charts, together with some of the books, collected by Dr. Charles N. Bell of Winnipeg. All the maps depict North America or Canada, whole or in part; many of them are coloured, and they range in date from the year 1500 to 1848. Included is the "Mapa Munde" of Juan de la Cosa. This comprises six sheets, beautifully coloured, with cartouches, scenes, and figures. Other maps are by Ortelius, Hondius, Janson, Blaeu, Sanson, Blome, Iaillot. This addition to the number of excellent maps already at Queen's will give the library the nucleus of a really important collection.

Work on the collection of transcriptions from documents in the archives at Ottawa and Quebec is progressing. Some time ago a bequest of over 150 volumes, in typescript and manuscript, placed upon the library staff the necessity of making available the information there contained. The volumes include documents from the earliest years of the French occupation of Canada and come down to the period just previous to confederation. A *précis* of the first part of this collection has been made. It is hoped not only to complete it but also to make an index for the whole number of volumes and to publish the result. A modest contribution will thus have been made towards historical research in Canada.

*Toronto Public Library.* The reference division has recently acquired an item of Canadiana which is a literary curiosity in the form of a play. The title-page reads: "Liberty Asserted /a/ Tragedy. As it is acted at the/ New Theatre/ in/ Little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields/ Written by Mr. Dennis./ London:/ Printed for George Strahan at the Golden Ball, against the/ Royal Exchange, in Cornhill;/ and Bernard Lintott at the middle-Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet 1704. price 1s. 6d." The Canadian interest lies in the setting which is Canada and the characters which include Frontenac, governor of New France and Indians of the Iroquois tribe. Its popularity is attributed to the many strong invectives against the French. Marlborough and the battle of Blenheim were in the news and the author brought in the French in North America to enlarge the field of hatred against the enemy.

*State Historical Society of Wisconsin.* An interesting and valuable addition to the revolutionary MSS of the society is the original diary of Solomon Dwinell, which describes the campaigns of 1775 and 1776, when its author was in Washington's army; he transferred to the northern army in 1777 and was present at Burgoyne's surrender.

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#### CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*Art, Historical and Scientific Association, Vancouver.* A special jubilee exhibit was on display last summer, in the City Museum, depicting the story of Vancouver during fifty years, in pictures, photographs, newspapers, maps, etc. The museum also placed on exhibit a collection of Indian items, showing Indian arts and crafts from prehistoric days to the present time. The members of the museum executive formed a jubilee committee, called the "Indian affairs committee", which was instrumental in securing four valuable historic totem poles which are now erected in Stanley park. The most interesting of these poles is that of the "Thunder bird". This totem pole was accepted formally by the Squamish Indian council of chiefs, as the representative crest or symbol of their tribe, and through the courtesy of the park commissioners was erected at the historic site of Prospect point, for the double reason of commemorating the visit to this spot of Captain George Vancouver on June 13, 1792, and also to honour the Squamish people who were the original owners of Stanley park.

The *Canadian Geographical Society* had a booth this year at the Canadian national exhibition, in Toronto.

*Canadian Historical Association.* The report of the annual meeting, held at Ottawa, May 26-7, has been printed and distributed. The historical papers which were presented at the meeting, are included in the publication, and their titles are listed in our bibliography of recent publications relating to Canada.

The *Canadian Institute of International Affairs* has published a report on its work for 1935-6. The endeavour of the institute is to promote in Canada an understanding of international affairs and of British-Commonwealth relations. There are now fourteen branches scattered throughout the country, seven hundred members, and twelve study groups. Presi-

dent, J. W. Dafoe; national secretary, Escott Reid; headquarters, 43 St. George Street, Toronto.

The *Canadian Military Institute* has published no. 31 of its *Selected papers from the transactions of the institute, 1934-1935*, which contains a very interesting historical paper by Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank on "The garrisons of Toronto and York, 1750-1815". President, Major G. L. Watt; honorary librarian, Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Elliott; secretary, T. J. Jackson.

*Les Dix* has published its first number of *cahiers*. The articles are listed separately in our list of recent publications, and the volume will receive a more detailed review in our next issue. The second *cahier* will appear in February or March, 1937. *Les Dix* is to be congratulated on the scholarly research which it is undertaking in these *cahiers*. The group has had ten meetings during the past year and has made several historical excursions throughout the province. Secretary, M. Gérard Malchelosse, 529 rue Leclaire, Montreal.

The *Haldimand Historical Society* has published in mimeographed form volume III of its *Historical review*, which contains interesting notes on various details of the county's local history (see p. 479). The society holds its meetings on the second Monday afternoon in each month at 2 p.m. in the historical room in the court house in Cayuga. A collection of historical objects and documents is gradually being built up and the society is grateful for all such donations.

*Historical Association of Annapolis Royal*. At the eighteenth annual meeting of the association, held in the Memorial Town Hall on Tuesday evening, November 10, the following officers were elected for next year: president, Lieutenant-Colonel E. K. Eaton; vice-president, the Rev. C. deW. White; second vice-president, T. H. H. Fortier; treasurer, H. M. Doull; secretary, Mrs. F. C. Gilliatt. Awards were made of the "L. M. Fortier Historical Contest Prizes" provided annually by the association in memory of the late Mr. Fortier. These prizes have greatly encouraged interest in history in the schools. Reviews of five books recently acquired at the library of the Fort Anne Historical Museum were given by Mrs. F. C. Gilliatt. One of these was a small leather-bound note-book, with a broken clasp, which belonged to Stephen Rodda, a surgeon-barber at Annapolis Royal in 1743 and following years. It contains among its interesting references to Annapolis Royal accounts of attacks on the fort by French and Indians in 1744 and 1745. This little volume was found thirty years ago, in England, in an empty house amongst a quantity of waste paper; it was presented to the association this year by the finder, Mr. Arthur H. Lyne, of Dorking, England.

Mrs. F. A. Richardson, of Cambridge, Mass., who has made a close study for years of the area of the first French settlement in Acadia, at Port Royal (which was at Lower Granville, Nova Scotia) told about two new finds that she has made there. Her talk was illustrated by lantern slides. In the past seven or eight years Mrs. Richardson has made some very interesting discoveries at the site and in the vicinity of Champlain's "habitation". [E. K. EATON, president]

The *Lundy's Lane Historical Society* unveiled a memorial to the pioneers on the site of the Old Red Meeting House, Lundy's Lane, on

the afternoon of Monday, September 14. Speeches and brief addresses were made by the Rev. Dr. T. A. Moore, Dr. A. C. Flick, Mr. A. Monro Grier, K.C., Mr. Louis Blake Duff, *etc.* President, the Rev. Percival Mayes; secretary, J. C. Morden.

The *Ontario Historical Society* held its thirty-eighth annual meeting at Niagara Falls, Ont., on September 14-6, and with regard to both attendance and programme this was one of the most successful meetings in the society's history. The New York State Historical Association met on the same dates at Niagara Falls, N.Y., and the two bodies united for parts of their proceedings. On the afternoon of the first day they made a tour on the Canadian side of the river from the falls to Niagara-on-the-Lake, returning to the Queen Victoria Refectory where they were guests at dinner of the Niagara parks commission. The second day was spent on the other side of the river in a tour from the falls to the rehabilitated Fort Niagara.

During both trips, addresses were made, and tablets dedicated. On the Canadian side Brigadier-General Cruikshank gave a description of the battle of Lundy's Lane at the site of that engagement; and a cairn and tablet commemorating the Old Red Meeting House in Lundy's Lane were unveiled by the Rev. T. Albert Moore, secretary of the United Church of Canada. The cairn was erected by the Lundy's Lane Historical Society which has to its credit other similar cairns marking points of historic interest in the neighbourhood. On the United States side Dr. R. W. Bingham of the Buffalo Historical Society described the battle of La Belle Famille, which preceded the capture of Fort Niagara in 1759 from the French by British forces under Sir William Johnson. A tablet marking the site was dedicated and accepted by Mr. William Wallace Kincaid, of whose property the site forms a part. After the ceremony Mr. Kincaid generously entertained the party at luncheon. Into Old Fort Niagara the visitors were conducted by an escort in colonial costume. Addresses were given by officials of the Old Fort Niagara Association and others, and tea by the officers of the garrison. A feature of the visit, much appreciated by the Ontario members of the party, was a march past and salute given to honour Brigadier-General Cruikshank.

The banquets were notable for outstanding addresses from four guest speakers. On Monday evening Dr. Duncan McArthur, deputy minister of education for Ontario, stressed the importance of education in the world of to-day and the value of history, especially local history, as a medium for the creation of an understanding of social environment and social responsibility; and Dr. M. M. Quaife, of the Detroit Public Library, told of the seigniory of De Repentigny and DeBonne on the Michigan side of the Sault Ste. Marie channel. On Tuesday evening Sir Robert Falconer gave a definition and defence of democracy, and Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, president of Union College, Schenectady, summarized the influences which had produced the "Yorker" of to-day.

It would be impossible, of course, to give in small space details of the programme in full, but a reference should be made to the arrangements on both sides of the river. These were admirable in every respect. With regard to the Ontario side high praise is due to the local committee formed of representatives from the Lundy's Lane, Welland, Lincoln, and Niagara Historical Societies.



The Ontario Historical Society met separately for business on the morning of the 16th. Papers were presented by Professors Fred Landon and C. B. Sissons, and Mrs. H. A. Innis. The following officers were elected: president, David Williams, Collingwood; vice-presidents, Dr. J. J. Talman, Toronto, and Dr. Percy J. Robinson, Aurora; treasurer, J. McE. Murray, Toronto; other committee members: Dr. C. W. Jefferys, York Mills; Louis Blake Duff, Welland; Mrs. D. M. McGregor, Swansea, and Mrs. J. M. Mussen, Niagara-on-the-Lake. Mr. George F. Macdonald of Windsor, as immediate past president, is also a member of the committee. [J. McE. M.]

The *Royal Society of Canada* held its fifty-fifth annual meeting in Ottawa, in the National Research Building, on May 20-3. From its published *List of officers and members and minutes of proceedings for 1936*, we note that this meeting was the most largely attended in the history of the society, 185 fellows signing the register. There was also a large attendance of delegates from affiliated societies, and a number of visitors. The Lorne Pierce medal was awarded to Professor Pelham Edgar, the Tyrrell medal to Mr. W. S. Wallace. During the past year the library of the society has received 1,216 volumes. President, Lawrence J. Burpee.

The *Similkameen Historical Association* held its annual meeting on August 20, with Mr. S. R. Gibson in the chair. Over 150 people, including representatives from all parts of the Similkameen and Okanagan valleys, sat down to supper. Mr. James A. Schubert, one of the few remaining survivors of the overland expedition of 1862, was present. Miss Jessie Ewart presented the report of the year's work of the association, and His Honour, Judge F. W. Howay gave an interesting address on "The historic sites and monuments of British Columbia".

[JOHN C. GOODFELLOW]

*La Société Historique d'Ottawa* held its annual meeting on May 13, 1936, and proceeded to its annual elections. The following officers were elected: president, Roger St-Denis; vice-presidents, R. F. G. Simard and Dr. Francis J. Audet; secretary, R. F. E. Thivierge; treasurer, Lucien Brault. So far the society has held three meetings, which were opened to the public and well patronized. On September 23, Mr. Lucien Laplante read an instructive paper on "LaSalle, explorer". On October 21, Major G. Lanctot gave a very interesting address on "Québec et la révolution américaine". To commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the first railroad in Canada, Mr. Lucien Brault contributed on November 18, a lecture on "The Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad in 1836".

The *Waterloo Historical Society* held its twenty-fourth annual meeting in Kitchener, on October 30, 1936. The president's address, by Mr. D. N. Panabaker, of Hespeler, was followed by an address on "The history of New Hamburg" by Mr. A. R. G. Smith, of New Hamburg, and a sketch of the Boehm family, entitled "From Switzerland to Canada", by Major M. S. Boehm, of Toronto. An inspection of the museum was conducted by Mr. W. H. Breithaupt. The museum is open to the public on Saturdays, from 4 to 6 p.m.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

EVATT, HERBERT VERE. *The king and his dominion governors: A study of the reserve powers of the crown in Great Britain and the dominions.* Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. xvi, 324. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.

*The fourth empire summer school* (United empire, XXVII (9), Sept., 1936). This issue of *United empire* is devoted to an account of the summer school of the Royal Empire Society at Bristol, including a résumé of addresses on: "The British Empire—past and present" by C. M. MACINNES; "Imperial defence" by the Rt. Hon. S. M. BRUCE; "The British Empire and foreign affairs" by the Hon. HAROLD NICOLSON; "Fundamental problems of Canada" by the Hon. and Rev. H. J. CODY; "A credo for the empire" by HENRY WICKHAM STEAD; and "Empire communications" by EDWARD WILSHAW.

KIRKPATRICK, P. T. *Nobody's children in new lands: The empire work of Dr. Barnardo's homes* (United empire, XXVII (10), Oct., 1936, 567-70).

POLLET, E. *L'Empire britannique* (Revue économique internationale, mars, 1936, 503-32). A consideration of emigration and other economic questions.

SPENDER, J. A. *Great Britain, empire and commonwealth, 1886-1935.* London, Toronto: Cassell. Pp. xxvi, 906. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

STEVENS, B. S. B. *Imperial economic development* (International affairs, XV (6), Nov.-Dec., 1936, 863-76). A discussion of imperial economic problems from an Australian point of view.

STOYE, JOHANNES. *The British Empire: Its structure and its problems.* London: John Lane. 1936. Pp. xvi, 344. (12s. 6d.) Translation of *Das Britische Weltreich, sein Gefüge und seine Probleme* (Munich, 1935). To be reviewed later.

TAYLOR, K. W. *The effect of the Ottawa agreements on Canadian trade* (Canadian papers, Yosemite conference, Institute of Pacific Relations, I, 1936, 25-37 mimeo.).

WILLIAMSON, JAMES A. *The British Empire and Commonwealth: A history for senior forms.* London: Macmillan. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1935. Pp. xxii, 404. (\$1.75) To be reviewed later.

### II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ANGUS, HENRY F. *Responsibility for peace and war in the Pacific.* (Reprinted from *International economic relations*, Report of the commission of inquiry into national policy in international economic relations.) Minneapolis: Reprinted by the University of Minnesota Press for Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1936. Pp. 291-304.

BEMIS, SAMUEL FLAGG. *A diplomatic history of the United States.* New York: Henry Holt. 1936. Pp. xii, 881. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

BEMIS, SAMUEL FLAGG and GRIFFIN, GRACE GARDNER. *Guide to the diplomatic history of the United States, 1775-1821*. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1935. Pp. xviii, 979. To be reviewed later.

BURNS, E. L. M. *Military prize essay, 1936* (Army quar., XXXII (2), July, 1936, pp. 22). The fourteenth competition for the Bertrand Stewart prize was for an essay on the subject which may in short be summarized as "The world is seeking the means to restrict war to the fighting services and to protect the 'non combatant' on land and sea. How far are such restrictions practicable and what effect would they have on the general composition and disposition of the forces?" [J. H. ELLIOTT]

*Canadian Institute of International Affairs: Report of the discussion of a study group of the Winnipeg branch, 1935 on Canada and war in the Pacific*. Chairman: Professor A. R. M. LOWER. (*Canadian papers, Yosemite conference*, Institute of Pacific Relations, IV, 1936, 99-120 mimeo.).

*Canadian papers, Yosemite conference, 1936*. Prepared for the sixth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Yosemite, California, from August 15th to 29th, 1936. Nos. 1-15. Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1936. Vol. I (pp. ii, 74, mimeo.) contains papers nos. 1 to 4; vol. II is paper no. 5 (pp. 291-304) by H. F. ANGUS (listed on p. 467), reprinted from *International economic relations*; vol. III is paper no. 6 (pp. 17) by H. A. INNIS and M. L. JACOBSON (listed on p. 483), printed by the Ryerson Press; vol. IV (pp. ii, 129, mimeo.) contains papers nos. 7-15. An index (pp. xxvii) is mimeographed separately. To be reviewed later.

CLAXTON, BROOKE. *Is there a common North American outlook on world affairs?* (Special libraries, New York, July-Aug., 1936).

CORBETT, P. E. *Isolation for Canada?* (University of Toronto quar., VI (1), Oct., 1936, 120-31). A discussion of the possibility of Canadian neutrality in British wars.

CURTIS, G. F. *Possibilities of peaceful adjustment of international disputes in the Pacific* (*Canadian papers, Yosemite conference*, Institute of Pacific Relations, IV, 1936, 1-24, mimeo.).

HINDMARSH, ALBERT E. *The basis of Japanese foreign policy*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1936. Pp. x, 265. Contains scattered references to Canadian relations: emigration, trade, and comparative vital statistics. [T. H. LE DUC]

*International machinery for the maintenance of peace in the Pacific area*: Summary of a report of the discussion of a study group of the Winnipeg branch, 1936. J. W. PICKERSGILL, rapporteur (*Canadian papers, Yosemite conference*, Institute of Pacific Relations, I, 1936, 40-51, mimeo.). Includes a section on the international joint commission.

*League of Nations Society in Canada, Fourteenth annual national conference* (Interdependence, XIII (3 and 4), 1936, 145-300). Annual reports and a record of discussions and addresses by Sir ROBERT FALCONER, Mr. J. M. MACDONNELL, Professor A. R. M. LOWER, Mr. BROOKE CLAXTON, the Hon. N. W. ROWELL, Mr. J. W. DAFOE, etc.

MCINNIS, EDGAR. *Canadian neutrality* (Saturday night, Aug. 29, 1936, 5).  
*A nation in the dark* (Queen's quar., XLIII (3), autumn, 1936, 241-9). Points out lack of clarity which characterizes Canada's position in international affairs.

MACKENZIE, N. A. M. *Canada and the changing balance of power in the Pacific* (*Canadian papers, Yosemite conference*, Institute of Pacific Relations, I, 1936, 52-74, mimeo.).

*Papers relating to the foreign relations of the United States, 1921.* Vols. I and II. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1936. Pp. cxx, 986; xcvi, 973. (\$2.00) Contains a short section of documents on regulation of fisheries and the export of pulpwood from Canada.

PARSONS, A. HARRIET. *Would the United States defend Canada?* (Maclean's mag., Nov. 1, 1936, 10-1, 30, 32, 41). An article which presents information as to how the Monroe doctrine affects Canada, and how in times of diplomatic tension it has been applied.

*Report on the work of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1935-1936.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1936. Pp. 27.

ROZ, F. *Le Canada et les États-Unis* (Revue d'histoire diplomatique, L, avril-juin, 1936, 134-47).

SANDWELL, B. K. *Supreme court and treaty power* (Saturday night, Aug. 22, 1936, 5).

SMITH, A. BAIRD. *Two empire frontiers* (Army quar., XXXII (1), April, 1936, 110-5). A cursory discussion of the frontier problems of India and of Canada from the military aspect.

UNDERHILL, FRANK H. *Canada and post-league Europe* (Canadian forum, XVI (189), Oct., 1936, 11-2).

### III. HISTORY OF CANADA

#### (1) General History

BEASLEY, NORMAN. *Michigan the wolverine state.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran. 1936. Pp. x, 51. (\$1.00) This is an illustrated popular little history of Michigan. The titles of the chapters indicate the dramatic tone in which the story is told: "The royal arms were bullets for an Indian gun"; "Here we shall command the lakes"; "Red-painted sticks"; "The long drama is ended"; "Commerce comes to the lakes"; etc.

*Les cahiers des Dix*, no. 1. Montréal: Le Rayon. 1936. Pp. 275. (\$1.50) 450 copies printed for sale; 50 for members. To be reviewed later; the articles in the volume are listed separately in this bibliography.

Canadian Historical Association. *Report of the annual meeting held at Ottawa May 26-27, 1936, with historical papers.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1936. Pp. 132. The historical papers are listed separately in this bibliography.

Canadian Military Institute, Toronto. *Selected papers from the transactions of the institute, 1934-1935, together with reports for 1934-35 and lists of members.* Toronto: Military Pub. Co., 19 Melinda St. 1936. Pp. 123.

CARTER, CLARENCE EDWIN (comp. and ed.). *The territorial papers of the United States.* Vol. IV: *The territory south of the River Ohio, 1790-1796.* Washington: Government Printing Office. 1936. Pp. ix, 517. (\$1.75) This volume contains the official papers of that part of the state of North Carolina, out of which the state of Tennessee was created. It includes the circumstances of the origin of the territory; the unique character of the land system; the constant state of war between settlers and Indians; the beginning of the Indian policy of the United States; the creation of local government; and the establishment of post roads, and the extension of the postal system to distant frontier settlements within the territory. There is no material of other than comparative interest to the student of Canadian history. [R. O. MACFARLANE]

- DEAVILLE, A. STANLEY. *Canadian geography and stamps* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (5), Sept., 1936, 223-39). An illustration of the manner in which Canadian stamps reflect the Canadian scene and outline Canada's history.
- DUNAWAY, WAYLAND FULLER. *A history of Pennsylvania*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1935. Pp. xxviii, 828; illustrations and maps. (\$4.00) This comprehensive one-volume history of Pennsylvania is divided into two parts: the colonial era to 1790 and the later period since 1790. To Canadian readers the chapters on the French and Indian war and Pennsylvania in the war of the revolution will be of most interest.
- GOULET, ALEXANDRE. *Une Nouvelle-France en Nouvelle-Angleterre*. Paris: Les Presses Modernes, 96 Galerie Beaujolais, Palais-Royal. N.d. [1934 or 1935]. Pp. 158.
- HERMANNSSON, HALLDÓR. *The problem of Wineland*. (Islandica, An annual relating to Iceland and the Fiske Icelandic collection in Cornell University Library, XXV.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1936. Pp. iv, 86. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.
- INNIS, MARY QUAYLE. *The record of an epidemic* (Dalhousie rev., XVI (3), Oct., 1936, 371-5). A record of smallpox epidemics in early Canada.
- LEVICK, G. MURRAY. *Public schoolboys in Newfoundland* (Geographical mag., II (4), Feb., 1936, 279-94). An illustrated account of the expedition of the Public Schools Exploring Society to Newfoundland in the summer of 1935, to survey certain features of a little-known area in the interior of the island.
- MC EWEN, JESSIE E. *Short stories of great lives*. Toronto: Nelson. [1936]. Pp. 228. (\$1.00) An attractive illustrated series of biographies for children; part II—New World stories—tells the story of the Cabots, Jacques Cartier, Champlain, Talon, Frontenac, La Vérendrye, Wolfe and Montcalm, Captain Cook, Alexander MacKenzie, Brock, Laura Secord, Sir John Franklin, Sir James Douglas, Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and Lord Strathcona.
- MACKENZIE, KENNETH. *Been places and seen things*. Introduction by GEORGE BLAKE. London: Cape. 1935. Pp. 256. (\$2.50) An autobiography which gives, in vivid slang, pictures of Vancouver as a professional boxer has seen it, rum-running on the Pacific coast, impressions of British Columbia, Alaska, and the world at large.
- MACKINTOSH, W. A. *Some aspects of a pioneer economy* (C.J.E.P.S., II (4), Nov. 1936, 457-63). Professor Mackintosh gives as characteristics of a pioneer economy, scarcity of labour and capital, importance of the export staple, and scarcity of money.
- MIDDLETON, JESSE EDGAR and DOWNS, W. SCOTT (eds). *National encyclopedia of Canadian biography*. Toronto: Dominion Pub. Co. 1935. Pp. iv, 383. See p. 457.
- MORIN, VICTOR. *Les dix (Les cahiers des dix, no. 1, Montréal, 1936, 7-36)*. A history of the various societies of ten, including the Canadian associations.
- TAYLOR, GRIFFITH. *Environment and nation: Geographical factors in the cultural and political history of Europe*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1936. Pp. 571. To be reviewed later.
- TESSIER, ALBERT. *Ceux qui firent notre pays*. Montréal: Les Editions du Zodiaque. 1936. Pp. 207. (75c.) This work is a further evidence of the trend towards advertising and popularizing the history of Canada. In a series of lectures which were given over the radio, the Abbé Tessier, *préfet des études* at the Séminaire des Trois-Rivières, presents a panorama in which are portrayed the chief events of Canadian history from 1497 to 1936.

TÉTRAULT, MAXIMILIENNE. *Le rôle de la presse dans l'évolution du peuple Franco-Américain de la Nouvelle Angleterre avec une liste chronologique des journaux publiés dans les états de l'Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, New-York et de la Nouvelle Angleterre*. Marseille: Imprimerie Ferran. 1935. Pp. 145.

## (2) New France

BARRETTE, VICTOR. *Tableaux d'histoire: Quatre pièces inspirées de l'histoire trifluvienne* (Pages trifluviennes, série C, no. 8.) Les Trois-Rivières: 1935. Pp. 49. Four historical plays entitled "Veillée de Noël à St-Malo en 1535", "Jacques Buteux", "Pierre Boucher", and "Le Rêve".

BIGGAR, H. P. (ed.). *The works of Samuel de Champlain* in six volumes reprinted, translated, and annotated by six Canadian scholars under the general editorship of H. P. BIGGAR. Vol. VI: 1629-1632. Translated by the late W. D. LESUEUR and H. H. LANGTON, the French texts collated by J. HOME CAMERON, with a portfolio of plates and maps and an index to the six volumes. Toronto: Champlain Society. 1936. Pp. xvi, 430, xii. To be reviewed later.

*Le différend entre M. de Frontenac et l'abbé de Fénelon* (B.R.H., XLII (10), oct., 1936, 614-7).

FAUTEUX, AEGIDIUS. *La carrière pré-canadienne de M. de Tracy (Les cahiers des Dix, no. 1, Montréal, 1936, 59-93)*. Information concerning Alexandre de Prouville, Sieur de Tracy (1603-70).

*Hommage à Jacques Cartier*. Montréal: Imprimé pour la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, 1182, rue Saint-Laurent, par Thérien Frères. 1936. Pp. 71. This nicely printed little book is a record of the celebrations of the Société de Saint-Jean-Baptiste in October, 1935, in honour of the fourth centenary of the visit of Jacques Cartier to Hochelaga. It contains address on Cartier by M. AEGIDIUS FAUTEUX, Mr. WILLIAM HENRY ATHERTON, Senator LEMIEUX, the Abbé LIONEL GROUX, etc.

*Lettre de Mgr de Pontbriand au ministre* (B.R.H., XLII (9), sept., 1936, 550-3). A letter dated Montréal, 1759, and containing a "Description imparfaite de la misère du Canada".

*Lettres de l'Abbé de la Tour au procureur général Verrier* (B.R.H., XLII (10), oct., 1936, 618-21). Dated 1730, 1733, 1737, and transcribed from the Public Archives of Canada.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Flibustiers montréalais* (B.R.H., XLII (10), oct., 1936, 583-4). A note on pirates in the seventeenth century.

*Le mariage du notaire Hodiesne* (B.R.H., XLII (10), oct., 1936, 599-600). A note on the Sieur Gervais Hodiesne.

*Une mission nationale française en Louisiane et au Texas: Le 250<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la mort de Cavelier de la Salle* (France-Amérique, n.s., no. 297-8, 27<sup>e</sup> année, sept.-oct., 1936, 177-92). Consists of articles on: "L'Empire colonial français de l'Amérique septentrionale, son extension et son territoire" by GABRIEL LOUIS-JARAY; "Le Père Marquette—Cavelier de la Salle—Iberville" by E. CARTERON.

QUINEL, CH. et MONTGON, A.de. *Jacques Cartier, le découvreur du Canada*. Paris: Fernand Nathan. 1936. Pp. 191. A delightful little history for children, with numerous stirring illustrations designed to appeal to schoolboys.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Les traités de 1759 (Les cahiers des Dix, no. 1, Montréal, 1936, 37-58)*.

## (3) British North America before 1867

ADAIR, E. R. *The military reputation of Major-General James Wolfe* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1936, 7-31). In his presidential address to the association, Professor Adair submits Wolfe's military reputation to searching criticism.

- AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Les députés de la vallée de l'Ottawa: John Simpson (1788-1873)* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1936, 32-9). Biographical notes and documents.
- *Vallières de Saint-Réal (Les cahiers des Dix, no. 1, Montréal, 1936, 201-12)*. A consideration of Judge Joseph Rémi Vallières de Saint-Réal (1787-1847).
- BIELER, MADAME CHARLES. *Au temps où l'on faisait la guerre en famille* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 22ème année, no. 87, sept., 1936, 287-99). A narrative of Baron Frédéric von Riedesel.
- BODLEY, TEMPLE. *George Rogers Clark's relief claims* (Illinois State Historical Society jour., XXIX (2), July, 1936, 103-20). Tells briefly the story of Clark's claims against Virginia "for money advancements and debts he incurred as surety for the state to procure supplies to feed, clothe and equip her troops under his command in the West during the Revolution".
- BURNETT, EDMUND C. (ed.). *Letters of members of the continental congress. Vol. VIII: January 1, 1785, to July 25, 1789 with supplement 1783-1784*. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1936. Pp. cxc, 899. To be reviewed later.
- BURNS, JAMES J. *The colonial agents of New England*. A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the graduate school of arts and sciences of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America. 1935. Pp. vi, 157. To be reviewed later.
- CAMPBELL, GORDON. *Captain James Cook, R.N., F.R.S.* London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1936. Pp. 320. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- Confession de Charles Hindelang (d'abord connu sous le nom de Lamartine)* (B.R.H., XLII (10), oct., 1936, 622-8). A document which throws light on the rebellion of 1837 in Lower Canada; from *Le Fantásque*, Quebec.
- COREY, ALBERT B. *Public opinion and the McLeod case* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1936, 53-64). An examination of the ebb and flow of opinion on both sides of the Atlantic during the trial of Alexander McLeod in connection with the destruction of the steamboat *Caroline*, in 1837.
- CRUIKSHANK, E. A. *The political adventures of John Henry: The record of an international imbroglio*. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1936. Pp. [x], 206. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- and HUNTER, A. F. (eds.). *The correspondence of the Honourable Peter Russell with allied documents relating to his administration of the government of Upper Canada during the official term of Lieut. Governor J. G. Simcoe while on leave of absence. Vol. III: 1798-1799*. Toronto: The Ontario Historical Society. 1936. Pp. xxx, 323. To be reviewed later.
- DAVENPORT, FRANCES GARDINER (ed.). *European treaties bearing on the history of the United States and its dependencies. Vol. III: 1698-1715*. Washington, D.C.: Pub. by Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1934. Pp. vi, 269. The late Miss Davenport has prepared a scholarly and invaluable work, which was completed by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson. In this volume, the treaties which affect Canadian history (in particular the Hudson bay and Acadian boundaries and the Newfoundland fisheries) are: Preliminary articles for a treaty of peace, signed by the plenipotentiary of France and the two principal secretaries of state of Great Britain at London, September 27/October 8, 1711; treaty for suspension of arms, concluded between Great Britain and France at Paris, on August 19, 1712, etc.; and the treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, concluded at Utrecht, March 31/April 11, 1713. The text of each treaty is prefaced by a detailed and annotated introduction and a full bibliography.



- DAVID, ALBERT. *L'affaire How d'après les documents contemporains* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, VI (4), oct.-déc., 1936, 440-68). Evidence concerning the murder of Edward How by the Indians in Acadia, in October, 1750.
- DESROSIERS, LÉO-PAUL. *Au temps de Durham* (Canada français, XXIV (2), oct., 1936, 154-61). "La présente étude fait partie d'une série d'articles que l'auteur publie depuis quelques mois dans des revues et des journaux canadiens."
- ELICONA, ANTHONY LOUIS. *Un colonial sous la révolution en France et en Amérique: Moreau de Saint-Méry*. Paris: Jouve. 1934. Pp. 271.
- FISHER, ROBERT L. *The western prologue to the war of 1812* (Missouri hist. rev., XXX (3), April, 1936, 267-81). A view of the western posts, the fur-trade, and the Indians on the eve of the war of 1812.
- FRENCH, ALLEN. *The British expedition to Concord, Massachusetts, in 1775* (Society for Army Historical Research jour., XV (37), spring, 1936, 17-31). An analysis, from the British point of view, of the military expedition which, on April 19, 1775, marched from Boston to Concord; illustrated with maps.
- GIPSON, LAWRENCE HENRY. *The British Empire before the American revolution: Provincial characteristics and sectional tendencies in the era preceding the American crisis*. Vol. I: *Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. II: *The southern plantations*. Vol. III: *The northern plantations*. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers. 1936. Pp. xxix, 301; xxx, 383; xxxvi, 347. (\$15.00 the set) To be reviewed later.
- JAMES, JAMES ALTON. *Oliver Pollock and the winning of the Illinois country* (Illinois State Historical Society transactions, 1934, Illinois State Historical Library publication no. 41, 33-59). The latter part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of George Rogers Clark's military control of the north-west and its influence on the boundaries obtained in the treaty of peace with England.
- KERR, WILFRED BRENTON. *Bermuda and the American revolution: 1760-1783*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1936. Pp. xii, 142. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.
- LABAREE, LEONARD WOODS (ed.). *Royal instructions to British colonial governors, 1670-1776*. 2 vols. (Prepared and published under the direction of the American Historical Association from the income of the Albert J. Beveridge memorial fund.) New York, London: Appleton-Century. 1935. Pp. xxvi, 462; x, 463-937. (\$10.00). To be reviewed later.
- MACKAY, DOUGLAS. *The honourable company: A history of the Hudson's Bay Company*. Maps by R. H. H. MACAULAY. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1936. Pp. 396. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les canadiens et la guerre de sécession* (B.R.H., XLII (9), sept., 1936, 538-40). A list of names of, and notes on, some of the French Canadians who fought in the American armies in the American civil war.
- *Un prisonnier de guerre à Montréal, en 1780* (B.R.H., XLII (9), sept., 1936, 547-9). An extract from the journal of Josiah Hollister.
- MENG, JOHN J. *D'Estaing's American expedition, 1778-1779*. (Franco-American pamphlet series no. 8.) New York: American Society of the French Legion of Honor. 1936. Pp. 12. An account of the naval expedition of Charles Henri Théodat d'Estaing du Saillans, Comte d'Estaing, against the British fleet.
- MULLIGAN, WM. ORR. *Sir Charles Bagot and Canadian boundary questions* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1936, 40-52). A paper dealing with Bagot as an authority on American-Canadian boundary questions, and emphasizing the experience and abilities which he brought to bear upon the problems which confronted him as governor-general of Canada.

NETTELS, CURTIS PUTNAM. *The money supply of the American colonies before 1720*. (Univ. of Wisconsin studies in the social sciences and history, no. 20.) Madison, Wis.: 1934. Pp. 318. (\$2.00) Professor Nettels's well-known articles on American monetary history from the late 17th century to 1720 are now collected together into a volume. His chief sources, the papers of the old board of trade in the Public Record Office, have been well handled and the whole study is clear and illuminating.

OAKES-JONES, H. *Wolfe and his portraits: A critical study of the uniforms depicted* (Society for Army Historical Research jour., XV (57), spring, 1936, 1-4). A beautifully illustrated study of the portraits of Wolfe, revealing many interesting features and inaccuracies.

PEASE, THEODORE C. *Indiana in contention between France and England* ((Indiana history bull., XII (5), Feb., 1935, 113-32). The story of the map on which England, in the fruitless negotiation of 1761 with France, based her claims to the lands east of the Wabash; it was supposedly given by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to indicate the limits with which he surrendered Canada by the capitulation of Montreal in 1760.

POWELL, J. H. (ed.) *Some unpublished correspondence of John Adams and Richard Rush, 1811-1816* (Pennsylvania mag. of history and biography, LX (4), Oct., 1936, 419-54). The letters contain interesting reflections on the war of 1812.

ROE, F. G. *The Hudson's Bay Company and the Indians* (Beaver, outfit 267, no. 2, Sept., 1936, 8-14, 64). An unbiased enquiry into the company's treatment of the Indians which concludes that, despite inevitable questionable incidents, previous sweeping and unfavourable criticisms are unjustified. The article is beautifully illustrated.

R[OY], P.-G. *Les amours du Sergent James Thompson* (B.R.H., XLII (9), sept., 1936, 573-6). James Thompson was with the Fraser highlanders who took part in the siege of Quebec in 1759.

SAFFORD, HENRY BARNARD. *Mr. Madison's war*. New York: Julian Messner. 1936. Pp. 317. (\$2.00) A boyish historical romance of the war of 1812.

SCHLESINGER, ARTHUR M. *Politics, propaganda, and the Philadelphia press, 1767-1770* (Pennsylvania mag. of history and biography, LX (4), Oct., 1936, 309-22). Shows the part played by the Pennsylvania press in exciting resistance to the Stamp Act, etc.

THAL, LESLIE E. *History of Turtle island in Lake Erie* (Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio quar. bull., VIII (4), Oct., 1936, [1-8]). Turtle island played an important rôle in the campaigns of General Anthony Wayne and the winning of the Northwest Territory by the United States.

*Une tragédie de Voltaire à Québec en 1830* (B.R.H., XLII (10), oct., 1936, 640). A note on a performance of *La mort de César* in Quebec, the object of which was to excite the audience against the constituted authority.

#### (4) The Dominion of Canada

ANGERS, FRANÇOIS-ALBERT. *André Siegfried et le Canada* (Actualité économique, 12 année, I (5 et 6), août-sept., 1936, 363-92). A discussion of a course of lectures given by M. Siegfried at the Collège de France on "Le Canada, sa position internationale dans l'équilibre économique et politique du XXe siècle".

BLAND, MRS. C. H. *The Civil Service Act and regulations* (Civil service news, XIV (9), Sept., 1936, 347, 349-52, 354: (10), Oct., 387, 389, 391-2, 407). Excerpts from an address by the chairman of the civil service commission, to the treasury staff.

- BOVEY, WILFRID. *Canadien: Étude sur les Canadiens français*. Version française de GUILLAUME LAVALLÉE. (Documents sociaux.) [Montréal:] Lévesque. 1935. Pp. 325. (\$1.25) A translation into French of *Canadien: A study of the French Canadians* (Dent, 1933); see C.H.R., XIV, 340.
- Canada department of the interior, National parks branch. *Preserving Canada's historic past* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1936, 115-21). A report of the progress in the restoration and marking of historic sites and the commemoration of events in Canadian history, during the past year.
- Canadian almanac and legal and court directory for the year 1936. Ed. by HORACE C. CORNER. Toronto: Copp, Clark. [1936]. Pp. 672. This valuable directory contains revised and up-to-date legal, commercial, statistical, ecclesiastical, educational, financial, governmental, and general information.
- Canadian travel bureau, Ottawa. *Canada your friendly neighbor invites you*. Ottawa: The Bureau. 1936. Pp. 52. A particularly well-illustrated and attractively printed invitation to American tourists.
- GERMAN-REED, T. *The north west Canada 1885 medal, together with some account of the campaign for which it was awarded* (Canadian defence quar., XIV (1), Oct., 1936, 86-100). An account of the medal awarded to the forces engaged in the suppression of the north-west rebellion in Canada in 1885.
- GRANT, J. FERGUS. *Canada's senior service* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (7), Nov., 1936, 391-400). An account of the Royal Canadian navy.
- GRIFFIN, FREDERICK. *Sir John Aird* (Canadian banker, XLIV (1), Oct., 1936, 24-31). A biographical appreciation.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Variety shows: Twenty years of watching the news parade*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1936. Pp. xiv, 359. (\$3.00) Reminiscences of a reporter of the *Toronto Star*; interesting and vivid descriptions of: Toronto newspapers two decades ago; the press gallery at Ottawa in 1917 and 1919; the return of the Canadian soldiers from the war; the tours of the Prince of Wales; etc. Mr. Griffin finishes his story with an account of the Moose river tragedy.
- HUDON, P. THÉOPHILE. *Est-ce la fin de la confédération?* Avec préface par le P. LOUIS LAVOIE. Montréal: Imprimerie du Messager. 1936. Pp. 188. (75c.) A brief consideration of the arguments for and against amending the B.N.A. Act; of the question of the secession of Quebec from confederation; of annexation with the United States; of an association of the French and English races on an equal basis; and of the family and the parish on which French-Canadian society is built.
- KREUTZWEISER, ERWIN E. *The Red river insurrection: Its causes and events*. Garden-vale, P.Q.: Garden City Press. [1936]. Pp. xii, 166. (\$1.50) This volume is an interpretative essay on Manitoba history from September, 1869, to August, 1870. It is based, for the most part, on *Correspondence and papers connected with recent occurrences in the North West Territories* (Ottawa, 1870), some transcripts from the Macdonald papers in the Public Archives of Canada, and the usual printed sources. Mr. Kreutzweiser states that his book is a story rather than a thesis. His conclusion, however, is that "the Red River Insurrection was an unfortunate affair which might easily have been averted". He contends that the serious character of the rising was due principally to mistakes on both sides, and that, while the conduct of Riel and his followers was "illegal and rebellious", yet "the verdict of history must uphold the justice of the Métis' stand". [R. O. MACFARLANE]
- MANION, The Hon. R. J. *Life is an adventure*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1936. Pp. vi, 360. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- MAXWELL, J. A. *Aspects of Canadian federalism* (Dalhousie rev., XVI (3), Oct., 1936, 275-84).
- PEEBLES, ALLON. *The state and medicine* (C.J.E.P.S., II (4), Nov., 1936, 464-77). A general discussion of the more outstanding activities of governments in the field of medicine, including Canada; followed by a comment by Dr. E. S. MOORHEAD.

- ROBERTSON, MURE. *The Dukhobors' search for Utopia* (Empire rev., no. 421, Feb., 1936, 110-3). An outline of the Dukhobors' fight for the toleration of an independent communist state within the Canadian federation.
- Royal Society of Canada. *List of officers and members and minutes of proceedings, 1936*. Ottawa: Printed for the society. 1936. Pp. 22, CXXVI.
- RUMILLY, ROBERT. *Mercier*. (Collection du Zodiaque, '35.) Montréal: Les Editions du Zodiaque, Librairie Déom Frère. 1936. Pp. 545. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.
- VAILLANCOURT, EMILE. *Broad side*. Introduction by WILFRID BOVEY. Montreal: Ducharme. 1936. Pp. 113. (\$1.00) Essays and addresses on French-Canadian loyalty; and an essay on the French tricolor in Canada.
- Voyage au Canada: La mission Jacques Cartier*. Préface de M. GABRIEL HANOTAUX avec 18 dessins et portraits de M. GEORGES LEROUX, de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts. Editions de l'Atlantique (France). 1935. Pp. 74. This very beautifully printed and illustrated volume is a souvenir of the visit to the Jacques Cartier celebrations in 1935 of the *Comité national français*, which represented the important institutions of France at the Cartier centenary. It contains "Impressions générales sur le Canada" by M. HENRY BORDEAUX; "Impression sur la province de Québec" by M. G. CONTENOT; "La mission française de Gaspé à Niagara" by M. le Duc de LÉVIS MIREPOIX; "La mission française en Acadie" by M. GABRIEL LOUIS JARAY; etc.
- WALLACE, W. S. *Sir William* (University of Toronto monthly, XXXVII (1), Oct., 1936, 3-5). A biographical sketch of Sir William Mulock.
- (5) **The Great War**
- BEATTIE, KIM. *The tragic story of another war blunder: Unheeded warning; both British and French leaders were told gas would be used at Ypres* (Maclean's mag., May 1, 1936, 11, 67-9).
- BIRD, WILL R. *What price Vimy?* (Maclean's mag., April 1, 1936, 19, 68-9).
- BOVEY, WILFRID. *How the corps became Canadian* (Maclean's mag., April 15, 1936, 12-3, 66-8). "The dramatic story of the Canadian army's struggle for autonomy during the Great War as revealed by a staff officer."
- \_\_\_\_\_ *The tragedy of Passchendaele* (Maclean's mag., March 15, 1936, 10-1, 53-7).
- CORRIGALL, D. J. *The history of the twentieth Canadian battalion (Central Ontario regiment), Canadian expeditionary force in the great war, 1914-1918*. Published for the trustees of the twentieth Canadian battalion (C.E.F.). Toronto: Stone and Cox. 1935. Pp. xviii, 268. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- CUSHING, HARVEY. *From a surgeon's journal, 1915-1918*. With illustrations and maps. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1936. Pp. xxii, 534. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- DUGUID, A. FORTESCUE. *Canada on Vimy ridge (Canada year book, 1936, 50-60)*. The history of the capture of the ridge by the Canadians, 1917.
- KEENE, LOUIS. *The badges of the Canadian expeditionary force* (Society for Army Historical Research jour., XV (58), summer, 1936, 72-82). An illustrated description.
- NOYES, FREDERICK W. *Stretcher-bearers . . . at the double! History of the Fifth Canadian Field Ambulance which served overseas during the great war of 1914-1918*. Toronto: Hunter-Rose. [Toronto: Fifth Canadian Field Ambulance Assoc., James Henderson, Sec., 307 Wychwood Ave.] N.d. Pp. [viii], 328. To be reviewed later.
- The story of the Avion raid, June 8, 9, 1917* (Forty-niner, Edmonton, no. 23, July, 1936, 9-11). Stories from three soldiers who took part in the raid.

*Warrior*: A short sketch of the horse owned and ridden by General Jack Seely (Lord Mottistone), who commanded the Canadian cavalry brigade, his engagements, wounds and escapes, with a drawing by A. J. Munnings, R.A. (Cavalry jour., U.S.A., March-April, 1936, 84-5).

#### IV. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

##### (1) The Maritime Provinces

BRINLEY, GORDON. *Away to Cape Breton*. Ill. by PUTNAM BRINLEY. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1936. Pp. xii, 266. (\$2.75) This is another light-hearted delightful travel-book after the manner of *Away to the Gaspé* by the same author and illustrator (Toronto, 1935; reviewed in C.H.R., XVI, 351). This time the Brinleys tell the story of their motor-tour through Cape Breton island and produce a charming and invaluable guide to motorists who contemplate following the same trail. The book contains notes and descriptions of details of life and scenery in Cape Breton—the result of keen observation—directions for travel set down in considerable detail, beautiful illustrations, and a few errors in the spelling of place-names.

ELLS, MARGARET (comp.). *A calendar of official correspondence and legislative papers, Nova Scotia, 1802-15*. (Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Publication no. 3.) Comp. under the direction of D. C. HARVEY. Halifax, N.S. 1936. Pp. 354. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

GILROY, MARION. *Our need of library service* (Dalhousie rev., XVI (3), Oct., 1936, 351-61). A paper which sets forth the present conditions and problems of public libraries in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, assesses the scope of the service now given, and formulates suggestions for an adequate public-library service.

HUSTED, WILLIAM H. *Bott, the story of a schoolmaster*. New York: Coward-McCann. 1936. Pp. xii, 307. (\$3.00) A biography of the late Mather A. Abbott, for many years head-master of Lawrenceville School in New Jersey, whose early days were spent in Halifax: there are interesting sidelights on Halifax and on King's College half a century ago.

KEIRSTEAD, B. S. *New Brunswick legislation (1936)* (C.J.E.P.S., II (4), Nov., 1936, 555-9).

MARTELL, J. S. *Some general remarks on the intellectual awakening of Nova Scotians* (Jour. of education for Nova Scotia, ser. 4, VII (4), Sept., 1936, 589-92). A consideration of the sudden speed with which schools, academies, colleges, libraries, literary, scientific, and professional societies, newspapers, magazines, and books, appeared in Nova Scotia between the years 1815 and 1836.

PERKINS, CHARLOTTE ISABELLA. *The romance of old Annapolis, Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia*. 1934. Pp. 101. (75c.) A miscellany of information about Annapolis Royal, particularly its old houses, its churches, and its schools, and a paper by Frederick Wheelock Harris on "The Negro population of the county of Annapolis". It is unfortunate that the booklet has been published without a title-page, a table of contents, or an index.

TILLEY, S. LEONARD. *Will the Maritimes secede?* (Maclean's mag., Aug. 15, 1936, 17, 22-4). A Maritimer speaks bluntly of "a growing feeling in favour of the Maritimes walking right out of the Confederation picture".

##### (2) The Province of Quebec

ALLAN, TED. *Mr. Duplessis' right turn* (New frontier, I (6), Oct., 1936, 18-20).

AMOS, ARTHUR. *Le manoir de Saint-Vallier* (Le terroir, Quebec, XVII (7), déc., 1935, 9-11, 20). An interesting historical account of the Manoir de St-Vallier, Bellechasse, Quebec, now the property of the author.

- BENNETT, ETHEL HUME. *A treasure ship of old Quebec*. Ill. by HAZEL BOSWELL. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1936. Pp. [vi], 266. (\$2.00) A tale for girls and boys of a treasure-hunt in the city of Quebec, which leads a party of young people into romantic places—the narrow streets of the lower town, an ancient manor-house, a habitant farm—and teaches them a number of interesting facts about the city and its history.
- DUGRÉ, ALEXANDRE. *La Pointe-du-Lac*. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 15. Les Trois-Rivières: Les éditions du Bien Public. 1934. Pp. 91. (50c.) An historical, ecclesiastical, educational, and economic record of the town of Pointe-du-Lac.
- Les éboulements du Cap Diamant* (B.R.H., XLII (9), sept., 1936, 541-6). A record of landslides which have damaged Quebec city.
- JAMET, DOM ALBERT. *Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière et les commencements de Montréal* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, VI (4), oct.-déc., 1936, 387-419). "... l'histoire de la fondation et des commencements de Montréal s'incarne principalement dans un homme. L'initiateur, le promoteur de l'entreprise, c'est Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière."
- LOWER, A. R. M. *In unknown Quebec* (University of Toronto quar., VI (1), Oct., 1936, 89-102). An analysis of the new spirit which seems to be animating French Canada.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les directeurs des postes à Montréal, de 1763 à 1924* (B.R.H., XLII (9), sept., 1936, 515-22).  
*Quelques rues et faubourgs du vieux Montréal* (Les cahiers des Dix, no. 1, Montréal, 1936, 105-56).  
*Sainte-Genève de Batiscan*. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 18.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les éditions du Bien Public. 1936. Pp. 131. To be reviewed later.
- Le mécanicien Louis Lemoine* (B.R.H., XLII (10), oct., 1936, 609-10). Louis Lemoine was the maker of a fire-engine in Quebec in the 1830's.
- QUINN, PETER. *Quebec bails the Jew!* (New frontier, I (6), Oct., 1936, 6-10). Part two of a so-called exposure of fascist activities in Quebec.
- R., S. *La situation politique dans la province de Québec* (France-Amérique, n.s., no. 296, 27e année, août, 1936, 158-60).
- ROBERTS, LESLIE. *Revolt in Quebec: The English-Canadian view* (Maclean's mag., Oct. 15, 1936, 10-1, 48-50). Discusses the attitude of English-speaking Quebec to the new, or revitalized, spirit of provincial nationalism in Quebec.  
*What happened in Quebec? ... and why* (Canadian business, Canadian chamber of commerce, IX (9), Sept., 1936, 22-4). The history of current politics in Quebec, and a discussion of the policy of the new administration.
- R[OY], P.-G. *L'Hotel Albion, côte du palais, à Québec* (B.R.H., XLII (10), oct., 1936, 577-82). A few notes on the Albion hotel in Quebec city, and a list of some of the concerts which took place in its concert hall between 1832 and 1851.
- RYERSON, STANLEY B. *The choice before Quebec* (Clarion, Toronto, July 25, 1936). An analysis of political trends in the province on the eve of the last election.
- SAINT PIERRE, ARTHUR. *Le 17 ou le 18?* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1936, 109-14). Discusses the date of the founding of Montreal in 1642.
- SOUCCISSE, VICTOR C. *Revolt in Quebec* (Maclean's mag., July 1, 1936, 10-1, 37-8; July 15, 1936, 14-5, 40-1; Aug. 1, 1936, 16, 34-5). Three articles presenting a French-Canadian's interpretation of Quebec's reform movement and the point of view of French Canada toward confederation.

SUTHERLAND, J. C. *The romance of Quebec*. Toronto: W. J. Gage. 1934. Pp. viii, 246. A profusely illustrated and very readable little school history of the province of Quebec from the days of the "Forest primeval and red Indians" to the present day; with chapters on many of the picturesque figures of New France, on the growth of Canadian nationality, on shipbuilding, mining, fishing, etc.

WORFOLK, ESTELLE JEAN. *The Place d'Armes, in Montreal* (Great thoughts, I, series 12: Aug., 1936, 199-200).

### (3) The Province of Ontario

BULL, WM. PERKINS. *From the Boyne to Brampton or John the Orangeman at home and abroad*. (Perkins Bull historical series.) Toronto: Perkins Bull Foundation. George J. McLeod, Ltd. 1936. Pp. 366. To be reviewed later.

*The complete book of Niagara compiled to provide a lasting souvenir of your visit to the falls. A memory book of your visit in picture and text. An official guide to chief points of interest, including a carefully planned thorough program of sight-seeing, covering all points of interest. An historic and geologic hand-book that furnishes a key to the entire Niagara territory.* Sponsored by Convention and Visitors Service of the Niagara Falls Chamber of Commerce and the Niagara Falls Hotel Association. Niagara Falls, N.Y.: Power City Press. 1936. Pp. 72. (25c.) A very attractive little guidebook; there is a section on "Niagara in history"; the booklet is well illustrated.

CRUIKSHANK, E. A. *The garrisons of Toronto and York, 1750-1815* (Canadian Military Institute selected papers, 1934-5, Toronto, 1936, 17-65). Deals with: the French occupation; the queen's rangers; the forty-ninth regiment; the forty-first regiment; the garrison of York in the war, 1812-5.

*Fort York, Toronto, Ontario*. Toronto: Issued by the Old Fort Advisory Committee. T. H. Best Printing Co. [1936]. Pp. 24. (25c.) A brief illustrated history and description.

GUILLET, EDWIN C. *Old times in Cobourg and vicinity* (Cobourg Sentinel star, running throughout 1936, commencing Jan. 2). The material in these articles is compiled from the files of the Cobourg *Star* since its inception in 1831, and the Cobourg *Sentinel*; includes much historical material relative to the old Newcastle district, which comprised the present Northumberland, Durham, Peterborough, and Victoria counties. A copy of all the articles has been prepared by the author for the Toronto Public Library and may be consulted in the reference department.

*Haldimand county historical review*, III, Aug. 15, 1936, pp. 10 (mimeo.). Interesting notes on the place names of Moulton and Walpole townships, on Joseph Brant, on the South Cayuga Mennonite church, on mission work along the Grand river, etc.

[HALE, J. R.] *The Gamebridge classes, 1936*. Orillia, Ont. N.p. 1936. Pp. 24. Mr. Hale, of the Orillia *Packet and times*, has prepared and published this little booklet reviewing the activities of the winter course in agricultural and home economics held at Gamebridge. In addition will be found sketches of the earlier days of the pioneers in the townships of Thorah, Mara, and Rama.

INKSTER, F. R. *When steel came to Goderich* (Canadian National Railways mag., XXII (9), Sept., 1936, 7, 28). A brief outline of the early history of the town of Goderich.

KON, WILLIAM E. *Boom town into company town: The story of Sudbury* (New frontier, I (7), Nov., 1936, 6-9).

MARTYN, HOWE. *Loitering along Lake Ontario* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (4), Aug., 1936, 209-20). A descriptive account of the Kingston road between Toronto and Kingston.



NICHOLL, MARY. *An old house in Ontario* (Dalhousie rev., XVI (3), Oct., 1936, 309-13). Some descriptions of life in a Presbyterian manse in Ontario in the 1820's.

*Pine Orchard history, 1800-1936*. [Newmarket, Ont.]: Newmarket Era. [1936]. Pp. 22. The historical committee of the Pine Orchard branch of the Women's Institute has collected information concerning the pioneer settlers of the district and the meetings and other proceedings at Pine Orchard Friends Meeting Houses. The proceeds from the sale of these booklets is designed to start a fund for the upkeep of the Old Meeting House at Pine Orchard, now used as a community centre. The Pine Orchard Institute is to be congratulated on its excursion into local history.

ROSS, JOHN. *Notes on Cumnock and North East Nichol*. N.p. August, 1936. Pp. 7. (25c.) Recollections of early days in Wellington county, Ontario, by an old-timer.

TAYLOR, GRIFFITH. *Topographic control in the Toronto region* (C.J.E.P.S., II (4), Nov., 1936, 493-511). This study attempts to show what are the main features in southern Ontario, more particularly within a couple of hundred miles of Toronto, which have affected the settlement of the region; the evolution of the city of Toronto as determined by the minor topographic features is described in somewhat general terms.

#### (4) The Prairie Provinces

*Alberta, economic and political*. I. *Social credit legislation, a survey*, by A. F. MCGOWN; II. *The Elliott-Walker report, a review*, by G. E. BRITNELL; III. *Income and expenditure in Alberta, a revision*, by D. C. MACGREGOR; IV. *The Elliott-Walker report, a rejoinder*, by COURTLAND ELLIOTT and J. A. WALKER (C.J.E.P.S., II (4), Nov., 1936, 512-49).

DES ORMES, RENÉE. *L'Odyssée de la première femme blanche dans l'ouest canadien* (Canada français, XXIV (1), sept., 1936, 21-33). A memorandum on Marie-Anne Gaboury, wife of Jean Baptiste Lajimodière.

ELLIOTT, COURTLAND and WALKER, J. A. *Report to Alberta bondholders' committee: A survey of the fiscal problems of the province of Alberta in relation to the economic and social conditions affecting them*. Edmonton, July 17, 1936. Mimeographed and privately distributed. A copy has been deposited in the University of Toronto Library. The committee also issued a mimeographed "Statement of bondholders' committee to Alberta government", on Sept. 16, 1936, which was widely copied in the press.

*The progress of Manitoba: The premier Prairie Province pioneers with caution* (Canadian unionist, Aug., X (3), 1936, 66-9). A brief outline of the development of Manitoba which illustrates the cautiousness of the province's political policies.

ROBERTS, LESLIE. *Gold in Saskatchewan* (Maclean's mag., June 15, 1936, 10-1, 35-6). A record of Lake Athabaska's gold-fields.

SANDWELL, B. K. *Does Alberta want to leave us?* (Saturday night, Sept. 19, 1936, 3). A discussion of the constitutionality of the recent enactments of the Alberta legislature of 1936 relating to property and civil rights.

#### (5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

ELLIOTT, T. C. *The coming of the white women, 1836*. Part II (Oregon hist. quar., XXXVII (3), Sept., 1936, 172-91). Extracts from the journal of Mrs. Narcissa Whitman describing her journey from Fort Walla Walla down the Columbia to the Hudson's Bay Company's headquarters at Fort Vancouver.

EYRE-WALKER, B. *Rolling on: The log of a land rover*. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 1936. Pp. 272. (\$4.00) The author's narrative begins with his arrival in 1909 at the Coldstream ranch in British Columbia, where he was employed for a considerable time. The first third of the book describes life on this ranch.

PERRY, M. EUGENIE. *British Columbia's garden isle* (United empire, XXVII (11), Nov., 1936, 616-9). Contains facts about the history of gardens on Vancouver island.

THIESSEN, KATIE. *Subjects—but not citizens* (B.C. teacher, B.C. Teachers' Federation, XV (10), June, 1936, 13-5). A note on the problem of the oriental in British Columbia, with particular regard to the oriental school-child.

Vancouver *Daily province*, Golden jubilee supplement, 1886-1936, May 21, 1936. Contains a number of descriptive articles on Vancouver's history and its economic and cultural development.

WAGNER, HENRY R. (ed. and trans.). *Journal of Tomás de Suria of his voyage with Malaspina to the Northwest Coast of America in 1791* (Pacific hist. rev., V (3), Sept., 1936, 234-76). A translation of the journal of Tomás de Suria (a painter who lived in Mexico), containing an account of the voyage with reproductions of some of his sketches.

**(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions**

ALLEN, EDWARD WEBER. *North Pacific: Japan, Siberia, Alaska, Canada*. New York: Professional and Technical Press. 1936. Pp. xvi, 282. (\$2.50) See p. 431.

ARMSTRONG, NEVILL A. D. *Yukon yesterdays: Thirty years of adventure in the Klondike, personal memories of the famous Klondike gold rush, first hand accounts of lucky strikes, stories of Dawson in the wild nineties, together with adventures in mining, exploring and big game hunting in the unknown sub-Arctic*. London: John Long. 1936. Pp. 287; illustrations. See p. 431.

BAXTER, ALLEN J. *Doctor Urquhart of Eskimo land* (Forest and outdoors, XXXII (2), Feb., 1936, 43-4, 60-2). Information about Dr. J. A. Urquhart, medical officer of the department of the interior, stationed at Aklavik at the mouth of the Mackenzie river.

BLANCHET, GUY H. *The caribou of the barren grounds* (Beaver, outfit 267, no. 2, Sept., 1936, 22-5, 66).

BODFISH, HARTSON H. *Chasing the bowhead*. As told by Captain HARTSON H. BODFISH and recorded for him by JOSEPH C. ALLEN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1936. Pp. x, 281. (\$3.00) See p. 431.

BROWN, W. E. *Man and machine against the Arctic* (Beaver, outfit 267, no. 2, Sept., 1936, 26-30). A record of the conquest of the overland route from Hudson bay to Arctic tidewater by tractor driven by Jack Ogilvie in 1929.

CONIBEAR, KENNETH. *North land footprints or lives on Little Bent Tree lake*. London: Lovat Dickson. 1936. Pp. 339. (\$2.50) In this novel of animal life, the author, a Rhodes scholar, a one-time trapper in north-west Canada, and clearly a disciple of Grey Owl, imparts in a very interesting manner considerable information about the animals of Canada and the country around Great Slave lake and Slave river.

FINNIE, RICHARD. *Modern pioneering in Canada's western sub-Arctic* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (5), Sept., 1936, 241-55). Describes a journey northward from Edmonton, down the Mackenzie river system, and up a tributary to Great Bear lake; illustrated mainly by photographs taken by the author.

HENDRYX, JAMES B. *Grubstake gold*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran. 1936. Pp. viii, 300. (\$2.25) An exciting, fast-moving yarn of the gold-rush from Alaska over the Chilcot pass to the Yukon.

HUBBARD, BERNARD R. *Cradle of the storms*. London: Harrap. 1936. Pp. 268; illustrations and maps. (8s. 6d.) The cradle of the storms is Alaska peninsula and the easternmost Aleutian islands. Father Hubbard, "the glacier priest", has led several expeditions to these regions and his scientific discussions are simplified for the general reader.

JENNESS, DIAMOND. *The village of the crossroads: Pond Inlet, the dominion's most northerly habitation* (Forest and outdoors, XXXII (1), Jan., 1936, 14, 20).

- M., H. *Le R. P. Arthème Dutilly, O.M.I., naturaliste des missions de l'Arctique* (Canada français, XXIV (1), sept., 1936, 60-5). An account of a scientific expedition to Hudson bay in 1933.
- MCBRIEN, Sir JAMES. *An eleven thousand mile inspection trip* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (7), Nov., 1936, 347-57). The log of a tour of inspection by air of the Prairie Provinces and the North West Territories.
- MANNING, T. H. *Some notes on Southampton Island* (Geographical jour., LXXXVIII (3), Sept., 1936, 232-42). Historical and descriptive notes on the island which forms the north-west boundary of Hudson bay.
- MITCHELL, ROSS. *Physician, fur trader and explorer* (Beaver, outfit 267, no. 2, Sept., 1936, 16-20, 65). An account of Dr. John Rae who led four Arctic expeditions for the H.B.C., and who brought back first word of the fate of Sir John Franklin.
- MUNDAY, DON. *Exploring western icefields* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (6), Oct., 1936, 303-15). Describes an expedition to the Klinaklini glacier of the Coast range, B.C.
- MURRAY, MARTIN. *Two boys in Eskimo land*. ("Seeing the world" series ed. by RODNEY BENNETT.) London, etc.: Nelson. N.d. Pp. 142. (50c.) An inexpensive little illustrated story for boys of a patrol through the Arctic with Herschel island as a starting point; all about Eskimos and kayaks and dog-sleds and bears and blubber.
- Northern tribune's* Peace river exhibit number, with which is included its fourth anniversary edition, July 23, 1936. Contains a number of articles on various phases of the development of the Peace river district.
- REA, ELLA M. *Castaways of the Yukon*. Boston: Meador Pub. Co. 1936. Pp. 298. (\$2.00) This is a modern romance of the Yukon river, dealing with certain problems arising from the gold-rush days of '98.
- ROBERTS, LESLIE. *Capital of the north* (Maclean's mag., Aug. 1, 1936, 13, 28). A description of Fort Smith, seat of government for the North West Territories.
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Great Slave gold hunt* (Maclean's mag., July 1, 1936, 15, 40-1).
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Treasure under the Arctic's rim* (Maclean's mag., July 15, 1936, 19, 30). The story of the mineral wealth of Great Bear lake.
- SMITH, CLIFFORD GOULDING. *Glimpses of Hudson strait* (Discovery, XVII (201), Sept., 1936, 270-5). In his hydrographic work on the coasts of Canada, Mr. Goulding Smith has become intimately acquainted with Hudson strait.
- STEAD, JAMES. *Treasure trek*. With an introduction by "Sinbad". London: Routledge. [Toronto: Musson Book Co.] 1936. Pp. x, 304. (\$4.00) See p. 431.
- WATT, FREDERICK B. *Arctic doctor* (Maclean's mag., June 15, 1936, 22, 53). An account of the work of Dr. James A. Urquhart of Aklavik.
- WEEKS, L. J. *Livingstone—physician to the Arctic: An epic figure in the life of Canada's northland* (Forest and outdoors, XXXII (1), Jan., 1936, 4-6). An account of Dr. L. D. Livingstone who has spent fourteen years among the Eskimo of Baffin island and Hudson bay.

## V. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

### (1) General

- Canada, Dominion bureau of statistics, General statistics branch. *The Canada year book, 1936: The official statistical annual of the resources, history, institutions and social and economic conditions of the dominion*. Published by authority of minister of trade and commerce. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1936. Pp. xlii, 1154. (\$1.50) This issue of the *Canada year book* contains a special article, "Canada on Vimy

ridge", by Colonel A. FORTESCUE DUGUID; new material on fertility rates and multiple births in Canada has been added to chapter v; the immigration tables of chapter vi have been placed on a calendar year basis to facilitate international comparison; statistics covering the construction industry in Canada are published for the first time in chapter xv; the introduction to the chapter on external trade has been revised to include an abstract of the value and quantum of world trade abridged from the league of nation's "*Review of world trade, 1934*"; section 9 of chapter xvii dealing with merchandising and service establishments has been entirely revised and rewritten to cover the estimates of retail trade made since the census of 1931; a new series of monthly indexes of retail sales, 1929-35, is also included, as well as principal statistics of chain stores and the motion-picture industry; improvement has been effected in the presentation of the financial statistics of the provincially controlled schools of Canada by the collection of data on a more comparable basis from all provinces; sections dealing with the public health activities of dominion and of provincial health authorities, and a brief sketch of the origin and growth of the different classes of institutions in Canada have been included, etc.

COLLINS, E. A. *Canada's nickel industry* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (5), Sept., 1936, 257-75). Its history and present operation.

5000 facts about Canada. 1936 ed. Founded by FRANK YEIGH. Toronto: Ontario Pub. Co. 1936. Pp. viii, 88. (35c.) This useful little handbook contains brief factual notes on Canadian economics, trade, agriculture, electrical development, finance, industry, a gazetteer of the chief Canadian cities and towns, provincial facts arranged under provinces, etc.

INNIS, H. A. *A note on recent publications on the fur trade* (C.J.E.P.S., II (4), Nov., 1936, 562-73). In his review of recent literature on the fur-trade, Dr. Innis presents the problems of adjustment between centralization and decentralization in the trade, and the dangers of centralization.

— and JACOBSON, M. L. *Agriculture and Canadian-American trade*. Submitted by special permission as a preparatory paper for the sixth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, held at Yosemite, California, from August 15th to 29th, 1936. *Canadian papers*, vol. III, no. 6. Published by arrangement with, and through the generosity of, the division of economics and history of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Ryerson Press. 1936. Pp. 17.

MACKEY, ROBERT A. *International conservation of fisheries in the north Pacific (Commodity control in the Pacific area* ed. W. L. HOLLAND, London, 1935, 426-48). A study of international action to protect the fur seal and the halibut in the north Pacific ocean, and to regulate whaling.

MOORE, WILLIAM H. *Public life*, July and Sept., 1936. Pickering, Ont.: The author. 1936. Pp. 64; 64. (25c. each) The first two studies in a series dealing with the economic and social condition of Canada. See review in C.J.E.P.S., Nov., 1936.

PATTON, HARALD S. *The Canadian wheat pool in prosperity and depression (Commodity control in the Pacific area* ed. W. L. HOLLAND, London, 1935, 125-56).

POWER, C. G. *Progress in public health in Canada* (Canadian public health jour., XXVII (8), Aug., 1936, 380-4). Includes an historical résumé of the advance of public health in Canada.

PURSER, RALPH. *Canada's geological survey* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (4), Aug., 1936, 173-84). A brief history of its beginnings and its activities, with a number of illustrations.

## (2) Communications

BARBOUR, JOB KEAN. *Forty-eight days adrift: The voyage of the "Neptune II" from Newfoundland to Scotland*. London: Simpkin Marshall. 1932. Pp. xvi, 220. See p. 431.

- BEAMISH, ROYD E. *Down to the lakes in ships* (Maclean's mag., Sept. 15, 1936, 15, 38-41). A record of shipping on the great lakes.
- BONAR, JAMES CHARLES. *Montreal and the inauguration of trans-Canada transportation*. Montreal: City Improvement League on the occasion of the golden jubilee of the inauguration of trans-Canada train service 1886-1936. Pp. 12. A little booklet "showing the problems of Canada over fifty years ago; the constructive citizenship of Montrealers of that day; and the inauguration of transcontinental train service from Montreal".
- BRAULT, LUCIEN. *Le premier chemin de fer canadien* (B.R.H., XLII (9), sept., 1936, 526-37). An historical account of the Champlain and Saint Lawrence Railway.
- EDWARDS, EVERETT E. *References on the Great Lakes-Saint Lawrence waterway project*. (United States Department of Agriculture Library, Bibliographical contributions, no. 30, Oct., 1936.) Washington, D.C. Pp. iv, 185 (mimeo.). A valuable bibliography of documents (Canadian, American, state and provincial), books and pamphlets, and articles on the Saint Lawrence waterway; and bibliographies of material on the Georgian bay canal, the problem of lake-levels, the Sault Ste. Marie canal, and the Welland canal.
- ROE, F. G. *An unsolved problem of Canadian history* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1936, 65-77). An examination of the various reasons for the change in the route of the first Canadian railway to the Pacific ocean, from the previously adopted survey through Battleford, Edmonton, and the Yellowhead pass, to the existing route through Calgary and the Kicking-Horse pass.
- SAYER, F. R. *First in the Maritimes* (Canadian National Railways mag., XXII (9), Sept., 1936, 9, 19). An account of the turning of the first sod for the European and North American Railway, at Saint John, N.B., on September 14, 1853.
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- Wings over the north* (Bank of Nova Scotia monthly rev., X (6), June, 1936, [4 pp.]). A résumé of the history of flying in the exploitation of the precambrian shield.
- WRONG, G. S. and DOUGAN, W. *Grain transportation in Canada* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (6), Oct., 1936, 289-301). With excellent illustrations.
- (3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, and Population**
- ALBRIGHT, W. D. *An economic land-settlement policy* (C.J.E.P.S., II (4), Nov., 1936, 550-5).
- DAVIE, MAURICE R. *World immigration, with special reference to the United States*. New York: Macmillan. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1936. Pp. xii, 588. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.
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[MACLEAN, M. C.] *Analysis of the stages in the growth of population in Canada.* (Canada department of trade and commerce, Dominion bureau of statistics, Education statistics branch.) Ottawa: 1935. Pp. 53 (planographed). Deals with the question of whether or not any order is discernible in the process of population-growth in Canada.

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SCHOTT, CARL. *Urlandschaft und Rodung: Vergleichende Betrachtungen aus Europa und Kanada* (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Berlin, 1935, 81-102).

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## VI. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

*Antigonish* (Jour. of education for Nova Scotia, ser. 4, VII (4), Sept., 1936, 566-9). A description by a correspondent of the *Times educational supplement* of the extramural work of St. Francis Xavier University.

BIRD, WILL R. "Co-op" conquest (Maclean's mag., Aug. 1, 1936, 9, 32-4). The story of the remarkable success of the co-operative movement in eastern Nova Scotia, which was initiated by St. Francis Xavier University.

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HARVEY, D. C. *More letters of our first superintendent* (Jour. of education for Nova Scotia, VII (4), ser. 4, Sept., 1936, 549-65). Letters which reveal much of the educational outlook of J. W. Dawson and the difficult problems with which he had to contend; dated 1850-3.

KING, H. B. *School finance in British Columbia.* Victoria: King's Printer. 1935. Pp. x, 230. Includes chapters on "Organization of education in British Columbia"; "The financing of public education in British Columbia historically considered: Before confederation"; "Education in British Columbia since confederation". A condensed outline of this report is given in *B.C. teacher*, XV (10), June, 1936, 25-31.

LAMPMAN, ARCHIE. *What is the separate school question?* (Maclean's mag., Sept. 15, 1936, 11, 44, 46-7). Sets forth the essential facts and the conflicting points of view of the problem in Ontario.

LIPPINCOTT, J. AUDREY. *Dalhousie College in "the sixties"* (Dalhousie rev., XVI (3), Oct., 1936, 285-90). Memories of Dalhousie by one of its oldest graduates; Dr. Lippincott graduated in the faculty of medicine in 1867.

MAURALT, M. OLIVIER. *Les origines de l'enseignement secondaire à Montréal (Les cahiers des Dix, no. 1, Montréal, 1936, 95-104).*

WILSON, JOHN A. G. *A short sketch of the early years in the life of St. John's College* (Johnian, St. John's College, Winnipeg, XLV (1), Nov., 1936, 9-10).

## VII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

BIRCH, JOHN J. *The saint of the wilderness: St. Isaac Jogues, S.J.* With foreword by JOHN J. WYNNE. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, San Francisco: Benziger Brothers. 1936. Pp. xxii, 236. (\$2.00) This is a very simple and sincere biography of Isaac Jogues. The author not only sets forth in easy narrative the facts of the Jesuit father's life and death, but he creates a vivid impression of the social conditions under which the Jesuits laboured in America. The book is, incidentally, an interesting example of rather unusual and attractive typography.

BOLTON, HERBERT E. *The Jesuits in America: An opportunity for historians* (Mid-America, XVIII (4), n.s. VII, Oct., 1936, 223-33). Examples of the wealth of unused materials for writing the history of the Jesuits in America; the author's illustrations are drawn principally from the work of the early Jesuit missionaries in Spanish America.

BYERLY, A. E. *One hundred years at Nassagaweya Presbyterian church, 1836-1936.* Published for the historical committee. 1936. Pp. 24. To be reviewed later in general review of church histories by Dr. J. J. Talman.

CORRIGAN, RAYMOND. *The missions of New France: A study in motivation* (Mid-America, XVIII (4), n.s. VII, Oct., 1936, 234-46). The author seeks to show that the Jesuit saints of Canada and the companions who shared their apostolate become comprehensible only when we recall the spiritual training they received.

CREUSEN, J. *Le R. P. De Smet, S.I. apôtre des Indiens* (Revue du Cercle des Alumni de la Fondation universitaire, V, 1934, 351-69).

DAVIDSON, ELIZABETH H. *The establishment of the English church in continental American colonies.* (Historical papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, series XX.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1936. Pp. 94. See p. 445.

*Edmund Henry Oliver* (List of officers and members and minutes of proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, 1936, XV-XVIII). An obituary note which includes a summary of the life and work of the principal of St. Andrew's College in Saskatoon, and a list of his publications.

FAIRFAX, JOHN. *Canadian churches and the last war* (Canadian forum, XVI (190), Nov., 1936, 12-4). An examination of the part played by the churches of Canada in the great war.

GOSSELIN, PAUL-E. *Un évêque de vingt-neuf ans* (Canada français, XXIV (2), oct., 1936, 127-32). A review article on *Monseigneur de Laubérivière* by Comte de Quinsonas (Paris, 1936).

LANGVIN, FRÉDÉRIC. *Mère Marie-Anne, fondatrice de l'Institut des Soeurs de Sainte-Anne (1909-1890), esquisse biographique.* Montréal: N.p. 1935. Pp. 362.

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MACLEOD, MARGARET. *The lamp shines in Red river* (Beaver, outfit 267, no. 2, Sept., 1936, 41-5, 65-6). An account of John Smithurst, missionary to the Red river in the middle of the nineteenth century.



MORICE, A. G. *The Catholic church in the Canadian northwest*. Winnipeg: The author, 200 Austin Street. 1936. Pp. 86. To be reviewed later.

ORÉ, LUIS GERÓNIMO de. *The martyrs of Florida (1513-1616)*. Translated, with biographical introduction and notes by MAYNARD GEIGER. (Franciscan studies, no. 18, July, 1936.) New York: Joseph F. Wagner. 1936. Pp. xx, 145. A study which has a comparative interest for students of the religious history of New France.

OTT, E. R. (ed. and trans.). *Selections from the diary and gazette of Father Pierre Potier, S.J. (1708-1781)* (concluded) (*Mid-America*, XVIII (4), n.s. VII, Oct., 1936, 260-5). The conclusion of documents on 18th-century history of Ohio, the previous instalment of which was printed in *Mid-America*, July, 1936.

*Le Révérend John Ogilvie* (B.R.H., XLII (9), sept., 1936, 513-4). A note on one of the chaplains with the English army in Canada in 1759.

RUSSELL, G. STANLEY. *The road behind me*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1936. Pp. xii, 287. (\$2.75) Reminiscences by the minister of Deer Park United church, Toronto; deals mainly with his work in England, but contains interesting impressions of Canada in 1908; in 1919 (particularly of ministers, churches, and life in Toronto); and from 1929 on.

*La Saint-Napoléon à Québec* (B.R.H., XLII (9), sept., 1936, 523-5). A note on fêtes in Canada in honour of Saint Napoleon.

SARGENT, DANIEL. *Catherine Tekakwitha*. New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green. 1936. Pp. viii, 246. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

TESSIER, ALBERT. *Le Père Jacques Buteux (Les cahiers des Dix, no. 1, Montréal, 1936, 157-70)*. An account of a Jesuit priest who came to New France in 1634, is connected with the early history of Three Rivers, and was slain by the Iroquois in 1652.

### VIII. GENEALOGY

*The Archibalds of Bible hill* (*Jour. of education for Nova Scotia*, ser. 4, VII (4), Sept., 1936, 593-6). The *Journal of education* is beginning a series of histories of famous Nova Scotian families; an attempt will be made to describe the origins of these families and the achievements of some of their more prominent members.

LA BRUÈRE, MONTARVILLE BOUCHER de. *Les Boucherville à l'étranger (Les cahiers des Dix, no. 1, Montréal, 1936, 233-57)*. A genealogical study of the family of Pierre Boucher.

MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Les Blackstone (Les cahiers des Dix, no. 1, Montréal, 1936, 213-32)*. Information concerning Henry Blackstone and his family, based on manuscript notes of the late Benjamin Sulte and documents in the Public Archives of Canada.

### IX. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- EWART, ALISON. *A bibliography of current publications on Canadian economics* (C.J.E.P.S., II (4), Nov., 1936, 603-14). This issue includes sections on: Economic history; fur-trade and wild life; forestry and related industries; industry; transportation and communication; immigration, settlement, colonization, and land policy; economic geography.
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- PALFREY, THOMAS R. and COLEMAN, HENRY E. (comps.) *Guide to bibliographies of theses, United States and Canada*. Chicago: American Library Association. 1936. Pp. 48 (planographed). To render assistance in locating dissertations which in their unpublished form may otherwise have been overlooked by many to whom they might prove valuable, the present bibliography attempts to cite all available lists of titles or collections of abstracts.
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- YOUNG, BEATRICE L. *Dr. John Rolph, 1793-1870: A bibliography*. Toronto: Toronto Library School, University of Toronto. 1936. Pp. 20 (typewritten). A copy may be consulted in the Toronto Library School.
- X. ART AND LITERATURE**
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- GABILLAUD, CHARLES. *Le miracle du folklore français au Canada* (Revue de folklore français et de folklore colonial, Paris, V, 1934, 345-51).
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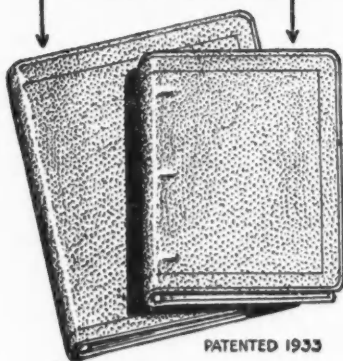
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